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WAS TROELTSCH RIGHT?

George W. Richards

AMERICAN CHURCH MUSIC COMPOSERS OF THE EARLY
NINETEENTH CENTURY

Robert G. McCutchan

RELIGIOUS IDEAS AND ATTITUDES IN THE
EARLY FRONTIER

Merrill E. Gaddis

BOOK REVIEWS

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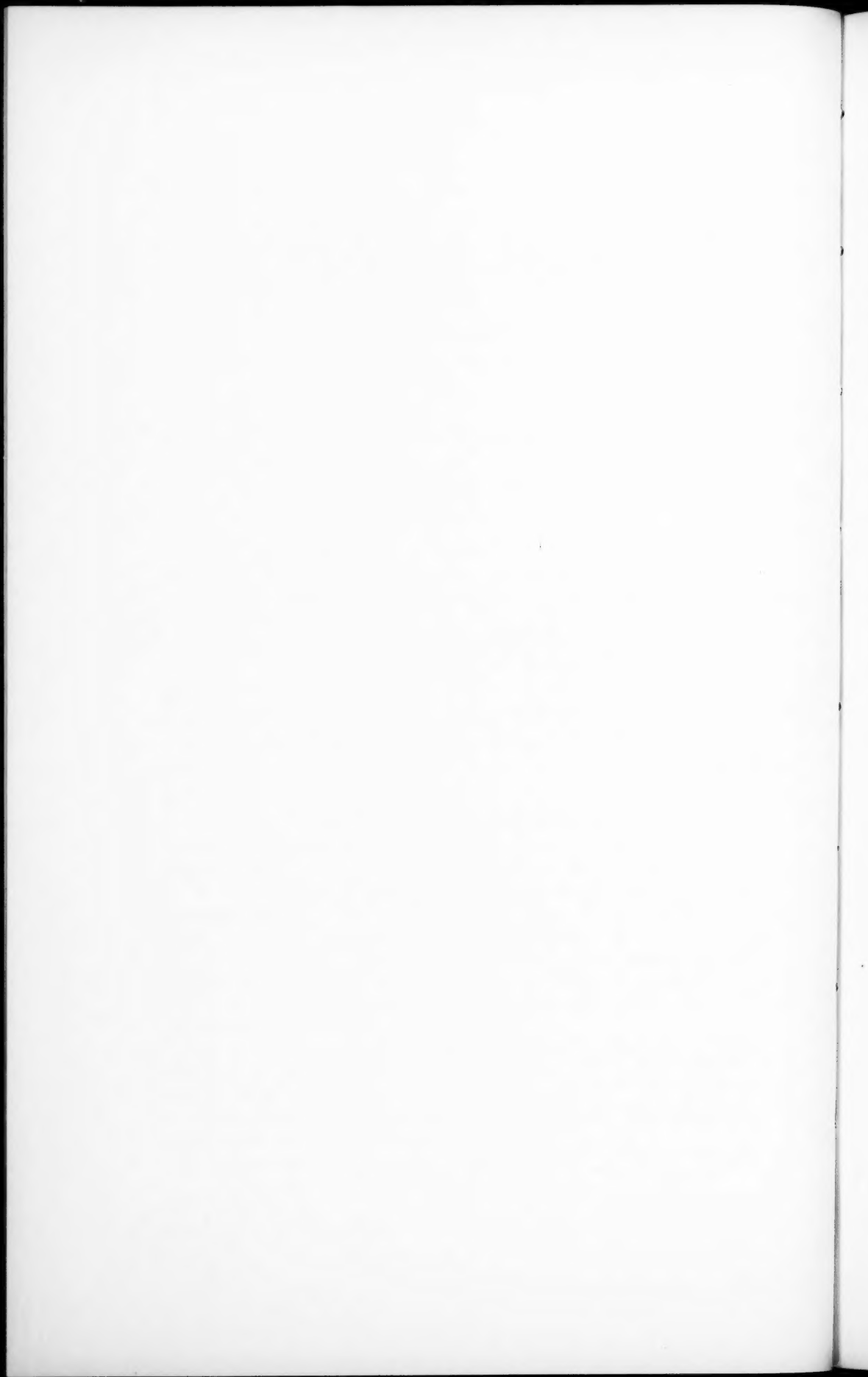
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WAS TROELTSCH RIGHT?

GEORGE W. RICHARDS

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Lancaster, Pa.

Troeltsch is reported to have said, during the centenary celebration of the publication of Schleiermacher's chief works, that "Schleiermacher's program remains the great program of all scientific theology and only needs working out, not the substitution of new methods."¹ My purpose is to discuss, not the theology or the sociology of Troeltsch as the subject of this paper may imply, nor the theology of Schleiermacher, but Troeltsch's pronouncement on Schleiermacher's program and method of all scientific theology.

I

By way of introduction I shall discuss two men who were in controversy in the sixteenth century—Erasmus and Luther. Erasmus wrote a diatribe entitled *De libero arbitrio*, 1524. Luther replied in a tract entitled *De servo arbitrio*, 1525. In these works the difference between evangelicalism on the one hand and Roman Catholicism and the humanism of the Renaissance on the other is sharply drawn. They contain two conceptions of religion and of Christianity that run parallel through the history of the church from Paul to Barth.

Both Erasmus and Luther saw clearly, as so many of their contemporaries could not see, that the cardinal issue in the reformation was the conception of the will of man, whether it is free or bound; whether, therefore, salvation is by grace alone or partly by divine grace and human merit, or wholly by human effort. In the last section of the *De servo arbitrio*, Luther says to Erasmus:

¹ Hoyle, *The Teaching of Karl Barth*, p. 65.

"In this I give you great praise, and proclaim it— you alone in preëminent distinction from all others, have entered upon the thing itself; that is, the grand turning point of the cause. . . . And therefore you attacked the vital part at once; for which, from my heart, I thank you."² The vital part then is the vital part now.

The irreconcilable contradiction, which never permits a compromise, between Luther and Erasmus appears at three points: their way of understanding the New Testament, their view of Jesus, and their conception of salvation.

Erasmus was a historical and critical scholar. He went *ad fontes*, back of the schoolmen, of the Councils, of the Fathers, even of Paul, to Jesus. He was a cultured gentleman, refined to his finger-tips, enjoying sumptuous living, and fearing tumult. He was in search of a religion or a philosophy of life better than that which was offered him by the church of Rome. Luther was not primarily a scholar, a critic, a historian; he was a sinner in search of salvation. He, also, went back to the New Testament, but with a spirit other than that of Erasmus. Each found what he was seeking. Erasmus found a teacher, an example, the Nazarene who preached the paternalistic theism of the Sermon on the Mount. Luther found the Christ, the Savior and Lord, who brought life and salvation through grace and faith as taught in the Epistle to the Romans. Erasmus restored the religion of Jesus; Luther restored the religion about Jesus. The one became the head of a new school in which men were taught how to save themselves by doctrine and deed; the other became the head of a fellowship of men saved by grace through faith. Luther considered Christianity as the only way of salvation and would not compromise with the religions of the world; Erasmus regarded Christianity as one among many religions, claiming however that it taught the true philosophy of life and therefore was the highest form of religion.

Luther describes the difference in the theory of knowledge as held by Erasmus and himself in these words: "I thank my God and glory as did Paul (II Cor. 11) that I have knowledge which I do not so far find in Erasmus, though God, in other respects, has given you learning, art, understanding, experience, practice, and every preparation for fine speaking and human wisdom. While I am inexperienced in ornamental speech, I by the grace of God am not inexperienced in that wisdom that Christ has given me to understand. . . . For the Scriptures, even the least portion of the Scrip-

² Luther, *The Bondage of the Will*, p. 391 (1931).

tures, no one upon earth, without the Holy Spirit, can know or comprehend."³

A statement like this Erasmus either would not accept or could not understand, in spite of his mastery of the classics and the knowledge of his time. It must have appeared as foolish to him as it did to the Greeks or as it does to the humanists to-day. He wrote a letter to Zwingli in which he says naively: "It seems to me that I have taught nearly all the things which Luther teaches, only not so atrociously (*atrociter*), and I abstained also from certain enigmas and paradoxes."⁴ In the same vein he wrote after he had read Zwingli's *True and False Religion*: "Oh, good Zwingli, what have you written which I did not write myself long ago!" It is the *aeinigmata* and the *paradoxa*, which the scholar could not comprehend and which mere words cannot explain, that separated Erasmus, the erudite humanist, from Luther, the evangelical Reformer.

The second point of difference is a corollary of the first: their conception of Jesus. In a letter to Nicolas von Amsdorf concerning Erasmus of Rotterdam, written apparently after the Diet of Augsburg, Luther puts his finger upon the line of demarcation between him and Erasmus.

Erasmus asks the question: "Why Christ, so great a teacher, descended from heaven, when there are many things taught even among heathens, which are precisely the same, if not more perfect?" Erasmus answers his own question by saying: "Christ came from heaven, that He might exemplify those things more perfectly and more fully than any of the saints before Him!" Luther indignantly replies: "Thus, this miserable renewer of all things, Christ, (for so He reproaches the Lord of glory) has lost the glory of a Redeemer, and becomes only one more holy than others. . . . This was the sentiment that first alienated my mind from Erasmus. From that moment, I began to suspect him of being a plain Democritus or Epicurus, and a crafty derider of Christ."⁵ Luther's estimate of Erasmus' *De libero arbitrio* is upheld by Professor von Harnack, who, no longer biased by the heat of controversy, speaks of the diatribe as "*die Krone seiner Schriften, allein eine ganz weltliche, im Tiefsten irreligiöse Schrift.*"

³ Luther, *Vom Unfreien Willen*, übersetzung von Justus Jonas, herausgegeben von Friedrich Gogarten, 1924, pp. 3, 18.

⁴ Zwingli, *Opera*, Schuler und Schulthess, VII, 310.

⁵ Luther, *The Bondage of the Will*, English trans., pp. 404-5.

The epistemology and the Christology of each are the regulative principles of his soteriology; or conversely one may say that the way of salvation of each determines both his theology and Christology.

According to Luther, man can do nothing, corrupt as he is through sin, for his own salvation. It is a work of God; of grace alone and faith alone and the Word alone. To allow man a part in salvation is to yield to Pelagianism in one form or another. One can find the assurance of salvation only in God; if man's will is involved, assurance is lost.

Erasmus held, in common with the humanists of all the Christian centuries, that "Christianity was primarily an ethical system; Christ was the great teacher and exemplar; man has a sufficient remnant of freedom of the will to reject the grace of God offered through Christ; to be a Christian meant to conduct one's life in accordance with the principles which governed Jesus' life. Jesus appeared in the rôle of a sage, and Christianity under the aspect of a moral philosophy rather than a religion of redemption . . . the all important thing is love for one's fellows, manifesting itself in charity, sympathy, and forgiveness."⁶

II

When one understands the fundamental difference between Luther and Erasmus, the difference between Schleiermacher and his theological descendants on the one hand and Barth and his school on the other becomes clear and can be seen in its historical perspective.

Troeltsch counted himself a lineal descendant of Erasmus. For he says: "The Father and Path-breaker of historico-critical thinking and the sentimentalism that seeks God *within*, rather than *above*, man is Semler (1725-1791). Yet all that the new theology has even now achieved is to be found in the great and marvellous Erasmus." It is a strange but significant coincidence that in the eighteenth century Semler said of Erasmus almost the same thing that Troeltsch said of Schleiermacher: "The Great Erasmus is the man who deserves immortality because he rendered greater service to theology than all the others. In all the articles of theology he already accomplished the good which is afterwards found in others."⁷ This opinion is corroborated by Loof's resumé of

⁶ McGiffert, *Protestant Thought Before Kant*, p. 11.

⁷ Quoted by Troeltsch in *Kultur der Gegenwart*, p. 481.

Troeltsch's statement concerning Luther, who, Troeltsch says, "stopped in the Middle Ages because he did not go back to Jesus but to Paul, who changed the teaching of Jesus to a gospel of a supernatural salvation; and the root of the Middle Ages was in this gospel."⁸ Here is the contrast, Paul and the Middle Ages on the one hand and the historical Jesus and the modern age on the other. Luther still is a child of the Middle Ages, not a modern man; Erasmus is the modernist and the original father of the liberal theology.

Loofs makes this clear in a later paragraph of the tract from which the preceding statement was taken. Erasmus, he says, "appears as the ideal type of this humanistic theology. With him, Christ was the incarnation of religion that is the same everywhere. It is he who began the retreat from Paulinism toward the Sermon on the Mount, toward the simple religion of the faith of Jesus. In the presence of Luther he was not only the moralist before the religious genius but, also, the representative of the modern conception of the anti-supernatural and universal religion."⁹ In the end, Erasmus is responsible for the first four chapters of *Re-thinking Missions*.

III

The *De libero arbitrio* and the *De servo arbitrio* were written nearly three hundred years before the *Reden* and the *Glaubenslehre* of Schleiermacher. The intervening period was unusually fruitful in scientific investigations and philosophic thinking. The free spirit of the Reformers was bound by the scholastic orthodoxy both of the conforming and the dissenting churches. Christianity was in process of dissolution through rationalism and in a state of petrification through confessionalism. The humanism of Erasmus, which fell into the background in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, came to its own in the *Aufklärung* of the eighteenth century.

Voltaire, with his keen insight into the spirit of his time, wrote, September 28, 1768: "All over Europe one finds things to astonish one. A revolt of the human mind is taking place which will have far-reaching consequences." Troeltsch, who lived when these "far-reaching consequences" had come, concluded that the modern age in principle began with the eighteenth century instead of the sixteenth, regarding the Reformation as a "medieval phe-

⁸ *Ibid.*, 257 sq.

⁹ *Luthers Stellung zum Mittelalter und zur Neuzeit*, p. 157.

nomenon." "The revolt of the human mind" was against traditionalism in every form, in church, state, and school. The past was brought before the bar of reason and, unless it could vindicate its claims, it was ruthlessly condemned. The scientific view of the universe, based upon the discoveries of Copernicus, Galileo, Newton, and La Place, was taken for granted by the cultured men of the West. The contradiction between the *Welt-bild* of the Bible and the creeds and confessions on the one hand and of the scientists and philosophers on the other was generally acknowledged. One group gave up the Bible and the confessions and put its trust in reason; the other group refused to follow science and remained loyal to the Bible. Then, as always, there was a mediating party which was in danger, through compromise, of betraying the Bible and of playing false to science.

Three men of international influence, who represented the century of Frederick the Great, died in the same year, 1778—Hume, Voltaire, Reimarus. Their passing marks the twilight of rationalism and the dawn of a new faith. In England Wesley led the evangelical revival, in France Rousseau was the prophet of romanticism, in Germany Kant, who was awakened from his dogmatic slumbers by Hume and was shown "the deep hidden nature of man" by Rousseau, was preparing his critiques of reason, the results of which he claimed were as significant as the change from the geocentric to the heliocentric view of the universe. At the same time Lessing, Herder, and Goethe, were pioneers in the discovery of a new view of the Bible, of Christianity, of human living, and prepared the way for the idealistic philosophy of Germany.

These men, in the dawn of the Romantic era, were not anti-Christian as most of the rationalists were, but confessional orthodoxy by no means satisfied them. Sabatier, in his *Religion of Authority and the Religion of the Spirit*, says, "Reimarus, Voltaire and Tindal had no other idea of religion than Quenstedt or Calovius. All of them thought it was a series of doctrines and precepts. The one accepted them by authority of revelation, the other by authority of reason. But each assumed himself equally infallible and dogmatic. The sum of the doctrines of orthodoxy was only a little longer than that of rationalism."

Time had come for a theological genius who was able to define religion so as to conserve the essential and vital elements of Christianity, to win the respect of its cultured despisers, and to harmonize it with "the fairy tales of science and the long results of time." Such a one had to be more than Descartes or Spinoza,

Galileo or Newton, Spener or Wesley, Lessing or Herder, Rousseau or Kant. He had to be master of them all and subordinate all of them to the laudable purpose of commending Christianity to those who, in their pride of knowledge, looked upon it with contempt. The one whom God called and man needed for this task was Friedrich Ernst Schleiermacher (1768-1834).

Schleiermacher was prepared by birth and training for his mission in life. His father was a Reformed minister in sympathy with the Moravian spirit. He sent his son to Moravian schools. In his childhood and youth God's grace in the saving of the sinner was brought home to him with a warmth of feeling that characterized Moravian preaching and teaching at that time. It was significant so far as his later life is concerned, that before his intellect was matured, Jesus had won his heart and he thought of religion not as a product of reflection or of moral endeavor but as a blessed feeling of assurance of salvation. He called himself, in his riper years, *ein Herrnhuter höherer Ordnung*.

In early manhood he passed through a period of doubt and scepticism. He disavowed faith in the Bible and in the historic creeds and confessions. Faith, in the sense of assent to what another person or group thought, became repugnant to him. He bade adieu forever to the supernatural and the miraculous in Bible and dogma. His negations included angels, demons, and all forms of catastrophic action by which God was supposed now and then to break into the world of time and space.

He not only rejected the authority of the Bible and the confessions in the orthodox sense of that term, but, influenced by Kant's critiques, he denied also the faith of the rationalists. He was convinced that knowledge of the noumenon, i. e., of God, was beyond the reach of the pure reason. All trustworthy knowledge is based upon the experience of phenomena in the sphere of the finite and the temporal. Consequently, he was an agnostic so far as the other-worldly side of God and of man is concerned, i. e., of the Absolute and the immortal. He never got beyond these negations and therefore based his *Glaubenslehre* upon foundations other than the infallible Bible or the equally infallible reason. He refused to be either a rationalistic supernaturalist or a supernatural rationalist.

He was not content, however, with negations. Under the influence of German idealism he reached positive affirmations on the basis of which he defined religion and Christianity—the former in his *Reden*, 1799, and the latter in his *Glaubenslehre*, 1821. Among

these convictions, which became the master light of all his seeing, were the following:

First, guided by Kant and Rousseau, Schleiermacher ceased to be philosopher and theologian and turned psychologist, exploring the hidden nature of man and finding the point where God comes in contact with man and man becomes conscious of God. In the feeling of absolute dependence he discovered the seat of religion. Religion is therefore an inseparable part of the soul of man, not something given to man from without, not a remnant of barbarism nor a result of culture.

The second affirmation, through the influence of Spinoza, has reference to the relation of God and the world. God is regarded as immanent active power or person, creating continuously the several stages of nature and grace. Thus Schleiermacher superseded the dualism of Deism and of orthodoxy, both of which had in one form or another an absentee God, who created the universe of law and order, and, when it was finished, he contemplated his work from afar; or, if need be, he set it right by direct action now and then. Through the idea of immanence, Schleiermacher reconciled his religious thinking with two discoveries of modern science—the reign of law and evolution.

The third affirmation related to the independence of religion from metaphysics and ethics. In the *Reden* he asserts that the devout man, in a passive and receptive state, becomes conscious of God, without effort of reason or will. In the *Glaubenslehre* he joins the feeling of dependence with the sense of responsibility. To be devout means to take everything from the hand of God, to put everything under God, and to be led in everything by God. In brief, the feeling of dependence includes not only the sense of gift *from* God but also of task *for* God. What one has received he must give. To do justice to the whole of Schleiermacher's teaching, one must consider not only his *Glaubenslehre* but, also, his *Sittenlehre*. The former is based upon the content of Christian experience; the latter upon the question: "What must one do when the God-consciousness of Christ is begotten in him?"

The fourth affirmation relates to the person of Jesus Christ, a historical fact that was beyond the scope of idealistic philosophy. Schleiermacher assumed to have rediscovered it in Paul and John; and in this respect to have approached the original doctrine of the Reformers. Yet, at this point there is a wide difference between him and Luther. Luther was convinced of sin and grace through the law and the terrors of a guilty conscience. He cried: "*Ver-*

loren ohne Christus; selig mit Christus." Schleiermacher did not share the religious struggle of Paul, Augustine, or Luther. He was a stranger to personal conflict with sin, and the assurance of pardon and peace through the grace of God in Christ.

Here is a contrast of far-reaching significance between Schleiermacher on the one hand and Luther and Paul on the other. The Reformer and the Apostle were driven to despair by the law and found refuge from the wrath of God in the grace of God. Schleiermacher eliminates the law; justification loses its judicial character and is transformed into regeneration through the impartation of Christ's consciousness of God to men. Then only will men be freed from the world and possess God assuredly and joyously at every moment of their lives.

Schleiermacher was the first theologian who put Christ in the center of a system of doctrine; put him in such a form as to be in harmony with natural science and historical criticism, and at the same time to satisfy the demands of Christian faith. He did not consider miracles as an essential of the faith—not even the virgin birth or the resurrection.¹⁰ Jesus was Savior because He was the perfect man who fulfilled the religious ideal in living, in suffering, and in dying. Christ himself was the supreme and only miracle. At this point he felt the tension between faith and reason—the identity of the original ideal and the Man of Nazareth, or the possibility of the absolute incarnate in an individual person. This was his well-known Achilles' heel at which David Friedrich Strauss aimed his deadly shaft in the thesis that the absolute ideal cannot be embodied in a man, but only in humanity. Schleiermacher felt the force of this argument but met it by affirming the miracle of the ideal and the real becoming one in Jesus Christ. He, therefore, regarded Jesus not as emerging out of sinful humanity but as a creative act of God, without however violating historical development or making room for miracles.

Enough has been said to illustrate Schleiermacher's program, which Troeltsch regards as the program for the scientific theology of the future. Schleiermacher doubtless did, in his day and in his way, what Paul, Justin Martyr, Origen, Augustine, Thomas Aquinas, and Erasmus did in their day and in their way; that is, he made the laudable attempt to commend Christianity both to its cultured despisers and to its cultured adherents. This now is, and always will be, the task of the theologian. Yet it is question-

¹⁰ See *The Christian Faith*, English trans. of the second German edition, Mackintosh and Stewart, pp. 418-420; 404-406.

able whether any theologian can devise a program and method for theologians to the end of time. When one has the temerity to raise this question, in the face of Troeltsch, he needs not for a moment discount the invaluable services Schleiermacher rendered to theology in his generation and in ours. Even Professor Brunner, his most devastating critic, acknowledges the debt that we owe to him. He regards him as "the only great theologian of the past century."¹¹

Schleiermacher was the great creative and constructive genius who sought a foundation for the knowledge of God *in* man rather than *outside* of him—one that all men would have to accept because it is common to all men—the feeling of dependence, in principle not so far removed from Descartes' *cogito, ergo sum*. Here at last he struck bottom rock upon which one could build his house with assurance; the floods of doubt and scepticism might beat against it in vain. This captivated the modern man perhaps as much as Luther's God of grace won the men of his time. "Schleiermacher's norm for dogmatics therefore is neither the letter of Scripture, nor a symbolical formula, nor a principle of sound reason, but religious feeling, the condition of devout self-consciousness, by which each doctrinal statement must be approved and in which it must find a sympathetic tone."¹²

The controlling principle of Schleiermacher's thinking was the quantitative difference between God and men, eternity and time, the world to come and this world. This amounted to idealistic monism which leaned hard toward pantheism and was congenial to the cultured men of his age. A theology based on these premises must be essentially different from the orthodoxy of the sixteenth century, the thirteenth century, the fifth century in the West, or the fourth century in the East. It was undeniably a *new theology* in harmony with the scientific view of the universe, the new approach to certainty, and the prevalent humanistic spirit.

In short, Schleiermacher, with his new method and program, broke with the various forms of traditional theology of the preceding eighteen centuries, especially with that of the Reformers—Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin. They emphasized the transcendence of God, the sinfulness of man, the incarnation of God; not the apotheosis of man, salvation by grace, and revelation through the Bible—*sola gratia, sola fides, solum verbum*. For the Reformers, salvation was an act of God; God found man before man found

¹¹ *Die Mystik und das Wort*, pp. 6, 8.

¹² Nippold, *Geschichte*, III, p. 25.

God. God was the certainty and man was the question. At each of these points Schleiermacher differed from his predecessors because his philosophy of immanence left no room for the transcendent God as he is revealed in the Bible. In place of revelation, Schleiermacher put discovery; in place of the word of God, the Christian consciousness; in place of sin, evil, imperfection, a 'not-yet.'

Clearly, Schleiermacher was both father and child of the spirit of our time, which Professor Dilthey describes as follows: "The whole conception of life which is at the basis of the Protestant doctrine of justification—the cardinal doctrine of the Reformers, and which includes the all-pervading sense of man's inability to do any good and his submission to the transcendent God and Judge of the world, whose law proceeding from his holiness is directly addressed to man—these are things of the past. Neither a law spoken from above to man nor the doctrine of the justification of the sinner by grace has any meaning for us."¹³

"What then," we ask Professor Dilthey, "remains of the sixteenth century Reform to-day?" He replies: "Two things: the liberation of men from the bondage of the hierarchy, and the foundation of religious conviction upon one's inner experience." Both of these ideas were in substance accepted by Schleiermacher. Troeltsch and his school acknowledge the truth of Dilthey's statement and are driven, to maintain the semblance of historical continuity, to the idea of two kinds of protestantism—the old and the new. Troeltsch adds a third characteristic of the modern spirit or the new protestantism, as "the religion of seeking God in one's own feelings, thinking, experience, volition." Witness the recent brilliant conversations about God. One, even though he is a liberal, is a little startled when he reads the following sentence in a book of 1932: "As for God, sin, grace, salvation—the introduction of these ghosts from the dead past one regards as inexcusable, so completely do their unfamiliar presences put us out of countenance, so effectively do they, even under the most favorable circumstances, cramp our style."¹⁴

IV

What is the response to this humanizing and de-Christianizing of Christianity? From 1911 to 1921 an obscure pastor in the

¹³ See, also, Brunner, *Das Gebot und die Ordnungen*, p. 572.

¹⁴ Carl Becker, *The Heavenly City of the Eighteenth Century Philosophers*, p. 48. 1932.

village church of Safenwill, in the Canton Aargau, Switzerland, faced a congregation of common people Sunday after Sunday. These people were not "cultured despisers of religion"; they were conscientious seekers for God. They did not want to live by bread alone. They were like the common people in Palestine who loved to hear Jesus. Their minister was educated in the universities of Switzerland and Germany, a pupil of the greatest masters of his time. But with all his knowledge, he knew not what to say to common folks that were an hungered.¹⁵ In despair he turned to the Epistle to the Romans, wrote comments on the margin of his New Testament, found good news from God, and proclaimed it to his congregation; he warmed their hearts, helped them in the struggle for life, sent them away with the courage that is born of faith and hope in the living God. The secret of his power and the power of his conversion was the Word of God; and so he did not argue with, but he fed his flock.¹⁶

His marginal comments grew into a volume; and one morning in 1919, the obscure Swiss pastor awoke to find himself famous because he found the word of God in the Bible. Fourteen years have elapsed and the books of Barth, Brunner, Gogarten, and Thurneysen are read on two continents. These men did not go *beyond* or *behind* the program of Schleiermacher; they *abandoned* it and followed new paths. Barth gives a reason for his change of program.

"We had lost the wonder of *God*," he writes, "and now we had to learn to eke out an increasingly difficult and miserable existence by asserting the wonder of the world, the miracle of history and of the inner life (all equally questionable!). The great misery of Protestantism began: doctrine, parted from its life-giving origin, hardened into *Orthodoxy*; Christian experience, confusing itself with this origin, took refuge in *Pietism*; truth, no longer understood and actually no longer understandable, shriveled into the moral and sentimental maxims of the *Enlightenment*; and finally even Christian experience was reduced in Schleiermacher and his followers, both of the left wing and the right, to the hypothesis of being the highest expression of a religious instinct common to all men."¹⁷

Barth was not primarily concerned about making Christianity palatable to "its cultured despisers." His program was formulated

¹⁵ Barth, *The Word of God and the Word of Man*, pp. 108-109; 123.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 100 and 104.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 246.

so as to preach good news from God and about God to publicans and sinners, to common people who feel the need of salvation, to the kind of people for whom the Bible was written, to the kind of people of whom nine-tenths of the world is composed at present. He was opposed on that account to the program, to use the words of Professor Brunner, "of the school of Schleiermacher, Ritschl, and Harnack, of Otto and Deissmann, and the religio-psychological school of Chicago or the historico-critical school of Union and Harvard."

Barth puts his estimate of Schleiermacher in the following paragraph:

"With all due respect to the genius shown in his work, I can *not* consider Schleiermacher a good teacher in the realm of theology because, so far as I can see, he is disastrously dim-sighted in regard to the fact that man as man is not only in *need* but beyond all hope of saving himself; that the whole of so-called religion, and not least the Christian religion, *shares* in this need; and that one can *not* speak of God simply by speaking of man in a loud voice. There are those to whom Schleiermacher's peculiar excellence lies in his having discovered a conception of religion by which he overcame Luther's so-called dualism and connected earth and heaven by a much needed bridge, upon which we may reverently cross."¹⁸ In answer to this specific achievement of Schleiermacher, Barth repeatedly says: "There is no way from man to God, but only from God to man . . . no religion, however well-meant, is an approach to God, not a way by which we can reach him. Religions are towers of Babel, showing man's presumption and vain desire to scale the steep ascents of heaven."¹⁹

The first great protagonist of the liberals against the teaching of Barth was his distinguished teacher, from whom we all have learned so much, Adolph von Harnack. Mindful of the title of Schleiermacher's *Reden*, he published in *Die Christliche Welt*, January 11, 1922, *Fünfzehn Fragen an die Verächter der wissenschaftlichen Theologie unter den Theologen*. In *Die Christliche Welt* of February 8 of the next year, 1923, Barth replied under the caption, *Sechzehn Antworten an Herrn Professor von Harnack*. In the introductory paragraph he says: "One who protests against the form of the scientific theology of Protestantism that has developed since Pietism and the *Aufklärung*, and especially in the last fifty years in Germany as normative (*massgebend*), needs

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 195-196.

¹⁹ Lowrie, *Our Concern with the Theology of Crisis*, pp. 122-123.

not on that account be a despiser of scientific theology. The protest means rather that this theology has departed more than is for the good [of the cause] from the original task set for it by the Reformation."

We come back to the original question: "Was Troeltsch Right?" It cannot be answered with a categorical 'yes' or 'no.' The two greatest teachers of mankind, Jesus and Socrates, never answered religious or ethical questions in that way. The issue cannot be finally decided in an evening by a paper and a discussion. Questions of this sort must be answered not so much by arguments in schools as by the wisdom that comes through the discipline of life.

We shall have to keep in mind that Barth's age differs as widely from the age of Schleiermacher as Schleiermacher's age differed from that of Luther and Erasmus. The difference manifests itself in what Professor Whitehead calls climates of opinion. Each climate has its own key words and its own method of approach to the fundamental problems of life.

Professor Carl Becker says: "In the thirteenth century the key words were God, sin, grace, salvation, heaven, and the like; in the nineteenth century, matter, fact, matter of fact, evolution, progress; in the twentieth century, relativity, process, adjustment, function, complex. In the eighteenth century, the words without which no enlightened person could reach a restful conclusion were natural law, first cause, reason, sentiment, humanity, perfectibility."²⁰

Must the minister of the Word and the theologian keep pace with these changing climates of opinion, must they constantly tear down and build up to conform to the changing fashions of the world? Must they forever, like frightened children, run into the arms of the scientists and philosophers and there find assurance and courage to preach the word of God? Are the ultimate presuppositions of life always changing? Was Aristophanes right when he said: "Whirl is king, having deposed Zeus?"²¹ Is there an eternal gospel of God?

The evidence of a recent change in one of the primary presuppositions of theology from Schleiermacher to Troeltsch is the loss of confidence in man—in his ability to solve his problems in his own way. In the *Year Book of the American Churches*, 1933, the

²⁰ See *The Heavenly City of the Eighteenth Century Philosophers*, p. 47.

²¹ Quoted, Carl L. Becker, p. 15.

chapter headed "Theology in the United States in 1932" cites two characteristics in theological trends of the current year: 1. "The passing of non-theistic humanism;" and 2. "The mounting distrust of liberal theology."

Unamuno says (and Flaubert in his *Salammbô* confirms it) that in the classic period of Rome men could enjoy the proud consciousness of being supreme in the universe, without any gods above them and without our disturbing knowledge of the beasts below them. Cicero's dictum was characteristic of the time—even if there were gods it were better not to risk any dealings with them.²² At such a time as this Paul wrote the *Römerbrief*—the foolishness of God to confound the wisdom of men.

The humanism of the Renaissance was in principle that of the Roman Caesars. Now, however, man in the pride of power did not deny God or humble himself before Him but brought God into man's service to exalt man. He achieved this by introducing the notion of the immanence of the divine in man. Referring to the "divine spark" in man which was uncorrupted and without need of salvation—the presupposition of Roman Catholicism, of Erasmian humanism, and of modern liberalism—Professor Brunner says: "This *hybris*, more than all the practical and moral corruptions, was what they [the Reformers] intended when they spoke of the spirit of Antichrist in Rome. They meant the delusion, prompted by irreverence and presumption, that at least in our inmost part we are not depraved, that somewhere within us God dwells, there is still a point—no, far more than a point!—a psychical area, an experience, a process, where God is man and man is God, where Creator is creature and the creature is Creator, where our being coalesces with divine being; that there is at least some fragment of human life which is not in need of forgiveness and salvation but simply *is*."

At a time like this Luther, a lonely and unknown monk, wrote comments on the margin of his *Römerbrief*. A revolution broke out that shook the foundations of religion and culture in Western Europe.

The imperialistic humanism of the Caesars and the aesthetic and aristocratic humanism of the Renaissance were followed by the scientific and democratic humanism of the *Aufklärung*. Instead of declaring war against it, as Luther did against his two antagonists, Eck and Erasmus, Schleiermacher entered into an alliance with it. He discovered God in man and man in God and

²² Lowrie, *Our Concern with the Theology of Crisis*, p. 145.

became the reconciler of all disturbing contradictions. The old theological and Christological controversies now seemed absurd. Why should Augustine quarrel with Pelagius? The differences between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism were of degree, not of kind. The reasons for divisions in Protestantism were no longer cogent. Christianity was one of many religions; indeed, the supreme religion, but not necessarily the only way of salvation. The age-long conflict between revelation and reason, the Bible and science, could easily be resolved by the conception of evolution and the gradual emergence of the content of revelation into the consciousness of man. The harmonization of the Bible and science captivated the modern mind—but the victory may have been won at too great a loss. It ended in “the substitution of modern philosophy and a religion of immanence for Christian faith.” All this was done, of course, with the highest purpose in response to an irrepressible need; but a hundred years after the *Glaubenslehre*, a village pastor wrote comments on the margin of the *Römerbrief*. We were sailing complacently in our theological crafts toward the haven of human perfectibility when out of a clear sky a storm arose, the waves dashed high, and we are looking anxiously for the clouds to scatter and the waters to calm.

The *Römerbrief* always has been to some an asset, to others a liability. The *Römerbrief* divided the primitive church; Augustine read the *Römerbrief* in the garden in Milan when he decided for Christ; Luther in the tower-room of the monastery saw light breaking through the gloom when he read the *Römerbrief*; Schleiermacher in his own way found help in the *Römerbrief*; Wesley was converted in the Aldersgate Street meeting in London while hearing Luther's introduction to the *Römerbrief*; Barth published his notes on the *Römerbrief* and precipitated a crisis among theologians after the war of the nations.

Perhaps as long as the world stands, when the twilight and chill of evening settle upon the church, when men expect God to serve them and do not look to God to save them that they may serve Him, men here and there will light their torches, and their hearts will be strangely warmed at the fires that burn in the *Römerbrief*.

AMERICAN CHURCH MUSIC COMPOSERS OF THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

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The first dozen years of the nineteenth century were momentous ones in the history of our country. Thomas Jefferson was elected President in 1800, and his inaugural in March of the next year marked the republicanization of the government. John Adams in 1801 signed the treaty with France that prevented another European war and led to the purchase of the Louisiana Territory in 1803. Late in the same year Meriwether Lewis went into camp with his subordinates at St. Louis preparatory to starting westward the following spring on the famous Lewis and Clark expedition. Events leading to the War of 1812 followed and the conflict settled disputed points that allowed this country to feel comparatively safe from European interference.

The great migration westward, already started, got under way in full force in 1808. Already the churches had shown concern over the spiritual welfare of the members of the border settlements and the Plan of Union of the Congregationalists and Presbyterians, proposed by Jonathan Edwards, the younger, in 1800, whereby these two denominations might work together in harmony, was formally adopted in 1801.¹ In this same year the Regular and Separate Baptists agreed upon terms of union.² The Methodists established the Western Conference in 1800 and William McKendree was placed in charge of it. By 1800 the Catholics were well entrenched in the middle west.

Timothy Dwight became President of Yale College in 1795 and in 1802 began a revival. Interest in revivals of religion was increasing in the last years of the eighteenth century, and Dr. Sweet³ says the summer of 1800 saw the culmination of the Cumberland, Logan Co., Ky., revival. Gilbert Seldes⁴ says "the American camp-meeting came into being at Gasper River, (Ky.) in 1800."

¹ W. W. Sweet, *The Story of Religion in America*, p. 307.

² *Ibid.*, p. 314.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 328.

⁴ Gilbert Seldes, *The Stammering Century*, p. 56.

The Rappites settled in Butler County, Pa., in 1803-4, later, in 1814, removing to New Harmony, Indiana. "Here, on Sundays, they spent nearly all day in religious observances, with music. Music, in fact, was the great diversion."⁵ Henry Watterson, in his autobiography, "*Marse Henry*,"⁶ gives a picture of conditions in the early days of the century. Although he was not born until 1840, his comments throw light on earlier conditions. He says: "The wave of the great Awakening of 1800 had not yet subsided. Bascom was still alive. I have heard him preach. The people were filled with thoughts of heaven and hell, of the immortality of the soul and the life everlasting, of the Redeemer and the Cross of Calvary. The camp ground witnessed an annual muster of the adjacent countryside. The revival was a religious hysteria lasting ten days or two weeks. The sermons were appeals to the emotions. The songs were the outpourings of the soul in ecstasy. There was no fanaticism of the death-dealing, proscriptive sort; nor any conscious cant; simplicity, childlike belief in future rewards and punishments, the orthodox Gospel the universal rule. There was a good deal of doughty controversy between the churches, as between the parties; but love of the Union and the Lord was the bedrock of every confession."

In many respects the opening of the nineteenth century was as momentous in the field of music as in any other. In that year William Billings died. He was the first well known American composer. He was born in Boston in 1764, and learned the tanner's trade. He was fond of music and undoubtedly had much natural talent for it. "Billings was an uncouth but forceful personality, and neglected his tanning to lead choirs with a voice that drowned all others; to publish psalm books that had a wide sale, and to compose music that had a certain crude worth."⁷ Ritter, in his *Music in America*,⁸ says: "Billings taught his choir, as far as he could, to sing musically; that is, in time, and with a certain swing and warm expression. As a composer he had the merit of relying on his own inventiveness and resources. He gave in the best way he was able, but he gave his own. He was an honest, though poor composer." Although a queer, ludicrous figure, blind in one eye, one leg shorter than the other, one arm withered, careless in his dress, and a confirmed user of snuff, nevertheless, he was smart,

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

⁶ Henry Watterson, "*Marse Henry*," p. 20.

⁷ Frank J. Metcalf, *American Compilers and Composers of Sacred Music*, p. 63.

⁸ F. L. Ritter, *Music in America*, p. 67.

capable, honest, patriotic, religious and decidedly active. Through his very popular "fuguings" he largely dominated the musical situation from the publication of his first book, *The New England Psalm Singer; or American Chorister*, in 1770, until quite late in that century. The title page of this book says it contains "a number of Psalm-tunes, Anthems and Canons. In four and five parts. (Never before published.) Composed by William Billings, a Native of Boston, in New-England. Matt. 12. 16. 'Out of the Mouth of Babes and Sucklings hast thou perfected praise.' James 5.13. 'Is any Merry? Let him sing Psalms.'

'O praise the Lord with one consent
And in this grand design
Let Briton and the Colonies
Unanimously join.'"

The "fuguings" were not fugues at all. The fugue is "a musical movement in which a definite number of parts or voices combine in stating and developing a single theme, the interest being cumulative" (definition in Grove's *Dictionary*). More simply stated, it is a composition for two, three, four, or more voices entering at intervals after the first, and continuing as individual voices throughout the composition. A subject, or theme, is spoken by a single voice in a certain key. This is followed by another voice in exact imitation, usually in the contrasting key of the dominant. Other voices enter at intervals, the key relationship alternating between the tonic and dominant. Its form is quite definitely circumscribed by rules of composition. The fugue reached its culmination in John Sebastian Bach. These tunes of Billings were composed in a somewhat florid style of writing that had become quite popular in England some time before. One voice would sing a "subject" of a few notes, the others entering at intervals in imitation. An example is the tune "Lenox," to which we usually sing "Blow ye the trumpet, blow." Although it is not now written in "fuguings" style, it did appear that way so recently as 1895 in the *Presbyterian Hymnal*. These tunes were much livelier than those in common usage at the time and were especially enjoyed by the younger people at their singing schools.

William Billings was the composer of the Revolution. At a time when the country had no patriotic songs, he wrote the tune "Chester" to the words

"Let tyrants shake their iron rod,
And slavery clank her galling chains;
We'll fear them not, we'll trust in God;
New England's God forever reigns.

"The foe comes on with haughty stride,
Our troops advance with martial noise;
Their veterans flee before our arms,
And generals yield to beardless boys."

This song was learned and sung by all, like popular songs of today. N. D. Gould, in his *Church Music in America*⁹ says: "These words, and the tune attached to them . . . perhaps did more to inspire a spirit of freedom than any one thing that occurred at this critical moment." When we realize that for more than a hundred and fifty years practically all of the tunes that were sung in New England came from Britain, we need not wonder at the enthusiasm with which the efforts of Billings were greeted. His style was imitated extensively and had found its way almost wholesale into the churches. For the books used in the singing schools were all of that type. The members of the singing schools constituted the choirs, and since the psalms and hymns were set to tunes composed in this manner, it was inevitable that they find their way into public worship.

However, shortly before the opening of the nineteenth century, a reaction had set in. Certain contemporaries of Billings' later life felt the inappropriateness of "fuguing tunes" for purposes of worship and set about inaugurating certain reforms, some of which did not have to do with the style of writing tunes.

There had been quite an invasion of foreign musicians, and while they were not, for the most part, identified with church music, their criticisms were not without effect. Peter Albrecht van Hagen had come to Charleston, S. C., in 1774. We find him, with his musical family, in New York in 1789, where he was engaged in the profession of concert giving. Alexander Reinagle was in New York in 1786, but stayed there only a short time, for in the same year he went on to Philadelphia, where he was interested in the theatre, and where General Washington attended at least two of his concerts. J. C. Gottlieb Graupner came to Charleston, S. C., in 1795. It is possible he had been in Boston a year previous. He was in Salem, Mass., in 1797, and in 1808 organized the Philharmonic Society, an organization interested in instrumental music, in Boston. Graupner was one of the founders of the Handel and Haydn Society, Boston, and was possibly the originator of the negro minstrel. George K. Jackson, an Englishman, came to Norfolk, Va., in 1796. Hans Gram was in Boston before 1790. Of the last two, more will be said later. While these men, for the

⁹ N. D. Gould, *Church Music in America*, p. 44.

most part, showed little or no interest in church music, as I have said, their influence was marked, and did much to call attention to the poor character of the musical works produced. It is only fair to say that all of them became citizens of the new republic and had a real interest in bettering musical conditions.

As has been noted, a reaction had set in against the sprightly tunes of Billings and his followers. Some of these men were from good families, were well educated, and saw the futility of the then popular type of music used in the churches. The first of the list was Andrew Law, 1748-1821, a grandson of Governor Law of Connecticut. He graduated from Brown University (then Rhode Island College) with the class of 1775, receiving his M. A. in 1778. Eight years later (1786) Yale College conferred upon him the M. A. degree, and in 1821, Allegheny College, then only six years old, honored him with its LL. D. He was ordained as a Congregational minister (1787) and was recommended by the Philadelphia Presbytery to preach in the south.

The work of Andrew Law has received favorable comment by several writers. Louis F. Benson, in his monumental work, *The English Hymn, Its Development and Use*,¹⁰ says, while "Billings established a distinctly American school of church music, . . . and it dominated Congregational song in New England for many years," yet "the new style of church music did not spread over New England without considerable protest. Andrew Law, one of the most successful 'Professors of Psalmody' contemporaneous with Billings, resisted his influence from the first, and in his numerous books of instruction and of tunes, aimed to avoid the seductive 'fuguing tunes.' By the beginning of the nineteenth century the protest against the new music became more pronounced." He says further: "*The Art of Singing* and other works of Andrew Law, also played a considerable part in the improvement of the Presbyterian singing."¹¹ Ritter, who was not at all sympathetic with any of our early American composers, says: "Law's most efficient work was that of a singing teacher. He did good pioneer work in New England and in the south."¹² In a newspaper account of his death (in 1821) it is recorded that, "To his (Law's) correct taste and scientific improvements may be ascribed much of that decent, solemn and chaste style of singing so noticeable in so many of our American churches."¹³

¹⁰ Louis F. Benson, *The English Hymn, Its Development and Use*, p. 171.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 193.

¹² Ritter, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

¹³ Quoted by Metcalf, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

Gould, who was forty years old when Law died, says of him: "His taste and judgment were in advance of the age in which he lived, and he probably was better informed in the science of music than any other teacher of his day."¹⁴

Andrew Law issued the first *Musical Magazine* in the United States. It was not a magazine, strictly speaking, for it contained no reading matter of any consequence. It contained a few hymn and psalm tunes, and it was his intention to issue these pamphlets periodically. Only two were produced. Law is credited with having invented a new system of notation which he thought would simplify the task of learning to read music. There had grown up in England a style of solmization which used only the four syllables, *fa, sol, la, mi*. In order to fill out the gamut the first three were repeated, thus: *fa, sol, la, fa, sol, la, mi*. For many years the notes themselves were in round form, these superseding those of diamond shape. Law used differently shaped notes for particular syllables. This practice is still followed in a considerable section of the south. About twenty-five per cent of the 1905 edition of the *Methodist Hymnal* sent out from the publishing house of the M. E. Church, South, was in this form. There are many thousands of books printed annually in shaped, or patent notes. They are sometimes called "wheat" notes. Law's new system of notation appeared in the fourth edition of his *Musical Primer*, and received the endorsement of John Hubbard, of Dartmouth College, of whom something more will be said. One peculiarity of this notation was that it was printed without staff lines.

Law's claim to the invention of the shaped notes is questioned. The book compiled by him in which this system appeared was issued in 1803. However, in 1798, William Little and William Smith published *The Easy Instructor*, using notes somewhat similar in shape to those used by Law. This book was investigated by a committee of The Uranian Society of Philadelphia, which endorsed it. Subscriptions amounting to \$3000 had been secured before publication and it must have run through several editions for there was a printing of it as late as 1828.¹⁵ Pratt says until 1831.¹⁶ Metcalf does not have anything to say of either of these men in his *American Writers and Compilers of Sacred Music*, and merely mentions the publication dates of the various editions in his *Amer-*

¹⁴ Gould, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

¹⁵ In the writer's possession.

¹⁶ Waldo S. Pratt, *American Supplement to Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, art. Tune-books.

ican Psalmody. It is probable Law's books had much more to do with the spread of the custom of using shaped notes than *The Easy Instructor*, for he was more widely known and was greatly respected.

Law also advocated and encouraged the singing of the melody in part music by the sopranos. It was the custom to have the melody taken by the tenors. While Law was not the first one in this country to suggest this procedure, he was undoubtedly largely instrumental in establishing its practise. He was also one of our first writers on the subject. Late in his life he contributed two excellent essays on music. Thoroughness was a characteristic of his teaching and while he was never popular personally, his works were highly esteemed and were so generally pirated that he was forced to ask the General Assembly of Connecticut, in 1781, for special legislation whereby he might be protected in the printing and selling of his books. This was granted, he being given an exclusive patent for five years. Provision was made for a penalty of £5 and payment of damages for each infringement. Law compiled *Plain Tunes*, a small book to be bound with copies of Tate and Brady, containing 55 tunes, one of which was "Mear" (the composer of which has been the subject of much conjecture); *Select Harmony*, in which there were probably no tunes by him, but containing "in a plain and concise manner the rules of singing chiefly by Andrew Law, A. B."; *A Musical Primer*, containing the new system of notation; *The Christian Harmony*, printed in 1805; *The Art of Singing*, also in 1805 (in complete form) which was so favorably received that a committee appointed by the Philadelphia Conference of the Methodist Church to investigate its value for use in their churches recommended its adoption; *A Collection of Tunes and Anthems*; *The Harmonic Companion*, and *The Art of Playing the Organ*. He was probably the most influential teacher and compiler living in this country in the first years of the nineteenth century.

John Hubbard, 1759-1810, preceptor of academies in New Ipswich, N. H., and at Greenfield, Judge of the Probate Court of Cheshire County, N. H., and Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy at Dartmouth College, was another who protested against Billings' style. His best known compilation was *Hubbard's Anthems*, 1814, which had wide use at ordinations, installations, Thanksgivings, and other gala occasions for twenty-five years or more. N. D. Gould, as a boy, knew him and sang with him, and pays him high tribute, saying: "He had in his po-

session more means for acquiring a musical education than any other man in America, having more English publications and treatises on the science of music than any other individual; many of which are now to be found in the library of the Handel and Haydn Society of Dartmouth College." He was the first president of that famed organization. In an "Essay on Music" read before the Middlesex Musical Society, he criticised the style of writing, saying "among the most prominent faults of this style, we may record the common fugue." He insists it is a hindrance to the understanding of the words. "They cannot affect the heart, nor inform the understanding. . . . Many respectable clergymen of New England have been almost determined to omit music in public worship. To their great sorrow they have observed that the effects of a most solemn discourse were often obliterated by closing with improper music."¹⁷ Hubbard was also the author of *The Rudiments of Geography*, 1803, and *The American Reader*, 1808.

Samuel Holyoke, 1762-1820, was another well-educated, privileged man, who was antagonistic toward the Billings school. He graduated from Harvard in 1789. For forty-seven years his father was the Congregational minister at Boxford, Massachusetts. He was the grand-nephew of Edward Holyoke, an early president of Harvard. He was said to have been an excellent singer when young, but in his late years he was compelled to use a clarinet in his teaching because of the harshness of his voice. With Oliver Holden and Hans Gram (already mentioned) he issued *The Massachusetts Compiler*. In 1802 he issued a remarkable collection of tunes known as *The Columbian Repository of Sacred Music*, from Exeter, New Hampshire. This really amazing work for the time contained 472 pages with 734 different tunes. It was a monumental work. An interesting sidelight on *The Columbian Repository* is the "Supplement" of tunes "suited to metres . . . which are not in Dr. Watts."¹⁸ This suggests that attention was being paid to the new type of Congregational hymnody in New England. In 1804 he issued the *Christian Harmonist*, "designed for the use of the Baptist Churches in the United States." This book is one of the early examples of the tendency of denominations to sanction particular tune books. While in most instances these tune books were not officially approved by the church authorities, they became so thoroughly identified with the different denominations

¹⁷ Ritter, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

¹⁸ Holyoke, *op. cit.*, p. 456.

that eventually they were used as bases for the issuing of strictly sectarian tune books.

Oliver Holden, 1765-1844, composer of the well known tune "Coronation," to which the hymn "All hail the power of Jesus' name" is usually sung, was a self-educated man. We do not have any record of his having had a college education. He was a carpenter who moved to Charlestown, Massachusetts, when twenty-one years of age, shortly after the town had been burned by the British. In helping rebuild it he prospered both as a carpenter and builder, and as a dealer in real estate. He gave ground as a site for a Baptist church and for many years acted as preacher for the Puritan Baptists in Charlestown. After becoming prosperous as a result of his business enterprises, he entered the music profession. He opened a music store, led a choir, conducted singing schools, wrote music and some hymns, and compiled several tune books, among them being *Laus Deo, or The Worcester Collection of Sacred Harmony*, the first book printed in America from music type. The former ones had been printed from copper plates. He represented Charlestown in the Massachusetts House of Representatives for eight terms, between 1818 and 1833.

Concerning Hans Gram there is little information available. We do not know the date of his birth or of his death, nor do we know just when he emigrated to America. For a time he was the organist at the Brattle Street Church in Boston, famous for having housed the first pipe organ used in America. It was Gram who co-operated with Samuel Holyoke and Oliver Holden in issuing *The Massachusetts Compiler* in 1795. This was by far the most creditable book issued in the United States up to this time, and its superiority was due largely to Gram's excellent musicianship. It passed through many editions and had a very large sale. It was largely influential in establishing the custom of using seven syllables in the scale (*do, re, me, fa, sol, la, si*) in place of the four syllables (*fa, sol, la, mi*) mentioned in connection with Andrew Law.

Dr. George K. Jackson, 1745-1823, came to Norfolk, Virginia, in 1796, and worked north gradually, reaching Boston in 1812. He was a teacher and organizer of concerts, as well as organist in several churches. He received an excellent salary for his day, but at his death his estate totaled only \$98.86, among the items being 129 volumes of music books appraised at 6 cents each. He has been described as being "somewhat tardigrade and undemonstrative; of a measurably lethargic nature, yet without men-

tal obtuseness . . . was of vast ponderosity, and like Falstaff 'larded the lean earth as he walked along.' " This description of him was given by his friend, General Henry K. Oliver, 1800-1885, himself a musician, compiler, and composer. General Oliver wrote "Merton" and "Federal Street." It was to Jackson that Lowell Mason submitted the manuscript of what later became the *Handel and Haydn Society Collection of Sacred Music*. Mason, being a bank clerk, did not want his name to appear, hence Jackson is given the credit for being the chief compiler.

There is a long list of tune writers and song book compilers that might be mentioned. Metcalf mentions more than 40 who were active in New England in the early part of the eighteenth century. The length of this paper will permit only brief mention of a few more.

Daniel Reed, 1757-1836, said in his journal "a young man made in six months in one school only, \$300," and that books of the usual size "sell for one dollar per piece," telling us the cost of binding his books was "nine pence each." We must infer that the profession paid well, for often two or more schools were carried on at the same time, alternate nights in the week being devoted to different localities. Reed is better known for having written "Lisbon" and "Windham."

Timothy Swan, 1758-1842, a hatter by trade, whose Northfield neighbors said was "poor, proud, and indolent," because he liked to read late at night and sleep late in the morning, who loved lilacs, and planted three rows of Lombardy poplars about his grounds, wrote "China."

John Wyeth, 1770-1858, the printer who went to San Domingo and nearly lost his life in the Black insurrection, who was postmaster at Harrisburg, Pa., where he also published a newspaper, sold 120,000 copies of his *Repository of Sacred Music*, and wrote "Nettleton," or "Hallelujah," as he called it.

These were a few of the little known composers of church music during the first few years of the last century—the men who laid the foundation for the work of Lowell Mason who followed them and who dominated the field for nearly a half century.

Lowell Mason, Mus. Doc., 1792-1872, was born in Medford, Mass., where at sixteen years of age he was a choir leader. We know very little of his boyhood, but he has said that he spent twenty years of his life in doing nothing save playing on all manner of musical instruments that were available. He was also a teacher of singing classes during his boyhood in Massachusetts. At twenty-three he went to Savannah, Ga., where he held a position

in a bank, but his interest in music kept him practising, leading choirs, and teaching. We do not know where he made his preparation to fit himself for working in a bank, nor do we know just what it was that called him to Savannah. While in Savannah, he studied harmony with one F. L. Abel. We do not know of any reason for remembering Mr. Abel, except that he taught Lowell Mason and assisted the latter, in 1818, in compiling a book of choral music. This collection of psalm tunes was based largely on William Gardiner's *Sacred Melodies*, which was a compilation of tunes taken from the works of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven. Gardiner was a manufacturer of stockings in England, but his interest in music was very great. Probably all that Abel had to do with the Mason book was to correct its harmonies.

Some months after the completion of the preparation of the manuscript, Mason came north, and while in Philadelphia, tried to interest a publisher in the work. In this he was not successful, so he went on to Boston, where he tried to interest other publishers. He became discouraged and was about to return to Savannah, when he met G. K. Jackson, a severe critic, who gave the book his hearty endorsement. Jackson was the organist for the Handel and Haydn Society, Boston, which arranged for the publication of the book in 1822. This organization did not do full justice to Mason in acknowledging him as its compiler. However, Mason explained this by saying, "I was then a bank officer in Savannah, and did not wish to be known as a musical man, as I had not the least thought of ever making music a profession." In later editions of the book a statement is made that "the Society are happy to acknowledge their obligation to Lowell Mason" "in the selection of the music and the arrangement of the harmony." This book made Lowell Mason known, for during the following thirty years or more it ran through some seventeen editions and had a sale of more than fifty thousand copies.

Mason returned to Savannah where he remained for five years. In 1827 his fame as a choir leader in Savannah was such that he was invited to return to Boston as leader of three of that city's choirs at a guaranteed salary of two thousand dollars per year. This invitation was accepted and he served the choirs of the Hanover, Green, and Park Street churches. Sometime later, he made a permanent connection with the Bowdoin Street Church, whose pastor was Lyman Beecher.

Mason had been urged to come to Boston by Amasa Winchester, the president of the Handel and Haydn Society. He was elected to honorary membership, but declined for the reason that

he preferred to begin his connection with the organization as an active member; yet within the year he was elected its president. It was customary at that time and for many years after for the president of the Society to act as its conductor, so by virtue of his office as president he was also the conductor of the Society. He was thus honored for five years. He resigned the presidency and the conductorship to devote all of his time to the task of converting the people of Boston to the idea of including music as one of the regular subjects in the public schools. He was able to accomplish this after some years of rather arduous labor. In 1838 he saw his dreams come true. Prior to this, in 1829, he made contact with W. C. Woodbridge, the geographer, who had studied the methods of Pestalozzi in Europe. Mason was greatly impressed by the results obtained, and sought to adopt it in his musical work. He himself went to Europe so that he might study this method more intensively. It was while in Germany that he made contact with Georg J. Naegeli and studied with him. In order to demonstrate the worth of music as a study for children, he organized the Boston Academy of Music (with George J. Webb), in 1832. They began the instruction of children in classes, which were held in the Bowdoin Street Church. No fees were charged for the instruction of the children, but a condition that each child attend classes regularly for a year was attached. It was through his perseverance in this work that he was finally permitted to experiment with one class in the public schools, for which he received no pay. This work was so well done and so greatly appreciated that for many years he was closely associated with the Board of Education of the state of Massachusetts.

In 1834 he organized the first of his famous musical conventions as a means of teaching music to the general public. These conventions were first held in and near Boston and were attended by any who wished to learn to read music by note. Many of these students in turn became teachers and carried on the work of establishing and conducting singing classes. The spread of the convention idea was phenomenal and until late in the century they were common in the east, south, and middle west. The good accomplished by the followers of Lowell Mason through the carrying on of this work cannot be estimated.

The first degree of Doctor of Music conferred on any individual by an American college was granted him in 1835 by New York University. He was universally esteemed and was a man of sterling character. He was kind and generous and through his musical conventions and the publication of much material for their

use, as well as for public and Sunday schools, probably did more for music in America than any other single individual this country has produced.

In the writing of hymn tunes he excelled. He is one of the few Americans whose tunes have gained a strong foothold in English and European books. Henry L. Mason says in a letter, "my grandfather left no data relative to his various hymn tunes. I have examined hundreds of hymnals in order to obtain such meagre information as to details as I have been able to. He was an excessively active man and I presume as soon as he had finished the composition of one hymn tune he rushed to some other activity. At all events, such journals that he did leave contain no information relative to the various hymn tunes."¹⁹

It is a matter of regret that no adequate biography of Lowell Mason has been written.

Space does not permit more than passing mention of the names of Thomas Hastings, 1784-1872, George J. Webb, 1803-1887, William B. Bradbury, 1816-1868, who worked with Mason, and others who were influential in the north before 1850. Nor to call attention to the work of the song writers and teachers of the south, where the old-fashioned singing schools and the musical conventions are still carried on in an amazing way, the patent note singing books still being used. "Professor" William Walker, A. S. H., (author, *Southern Harmony*), as he styled himself, was a real factor in his field. He was born in 1809. It is said *The Southern Harmony* and Walker's name were as familiar as household duties in the homes of the ante-bellum south. B. F. White, 1800-1879, compiled *The Sacred Harp* in 1844. Prior to this, he had been associated with William Walker, his brother-in-law, in conducting singing schools and teaching singing. *The Sacred Harp* is of particular interest to the student of American music of the folk type, because of the general use it has in the more backward sections of the south. There is a National Sacred Harp Association which holds annual meetings in Atlanta. These meetings are attended by many hundreds of old-time singers carrying on an interesting tradition in early American singing.²⁰

¹⁹ From a letter to the writer of this paper.

²⁰ Since this paper was prepared, it was the good fortune of the writer to attend the ninety-eighth annual meeting of The Diapason Society, held at Morristown, Indiana, where descendants of early members of this Society have kept alive the traditions of the singing classes of a century ago.

RELIGIOUS IDEAS AND ATTITUDES IN THE EARLY FRONTIER

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The early American frontier imported all of its basic religious ideas, yet was not slow in taking very significant liberties with them. The carriers of these various concepts represented a number of rather distinct cultural groups with antecedents reaching back to the British Isles and to the continent of Europe. A common background of Christian tradition existed, most of it Protestant; and English was the prevailing tongue. As in the case of every great movement of population, there came about of necessity a continuous exposure to new environmental influences which, in turn, placed their mark upon the attitudes, ideas and institutions making up the religious and general cultural life of the migrating people. It is natural, therefore, that our interest should be attracted not only to such ideas and attitudes as may appear to have been more or less indigenous to the very soil of the frontier, but more perhaps to such traditional religious concepts as may have assumed new forms or taken on new emphasis in the process of becoming acceptable to the frontiersman who again and again found himself confronted by entirely unlooked-for problems.

The so-called "early frontier" may, by common consent, be taken as extending temporally from the close of the Revolution (1783) to the election of Andrew Jackson (1828); and spatially from the Alleghenies on the east to the Mississippi on the west. The term "religious ideas" may on occasion be used broadly to include the many concepts, attitudes and emotions which seem to have been characteristic of backwoods people of the period and region named, and to have had some reference to their religion. An appreciation of the historical background of the whole frontier development is of course prerequisite to an understanding of the religious ideas of the time. A few facts here cited will serve as a reminder.

First, the Proclamation Line which the British crown set along the Allegheny watershed at the close of the French and Indian war as the farthest westward limit for settlement, proved, as should have been foreseen, a challenge to the American spirit

to go and take possession of the country beyond. A score of years later the success of the Revolution and the recognition of our title to lands all the way to the Mississippi, brought a marked acceleration in the most remarkable population movement of modern times. True, Spain blocked New Orleans intermittently until a treaty gave us the rights of navigation and deposit of goods. Then, in 1803, Louisiana came into our ownership by way of French hands, and by 1819 the Floridas were ours. Meanwhile, settlers pushed west and south in fanlike streams. The western belt of settlers east of the Alleghenies was composed mainly of the Scotch-Irish, of Presbyterian tradition, who had begun to migrate to America in great numbers before the middle of the eighteenth century to free themselves from various unfair discriminations. These hardy people were the first to pour over the Allegheny mountains and for a number of years represented the largest element among the westward moving hosts. The English settlers from New England, together with the Germans and Dutch from the Middle Atlantic states, furnished the bulk of the remainder. The New Englanders in general migrated along a line south of the Great Lakes, settling the northern portions of Ohio, Indiana and beyond, in the region of the Old Northwest. The Scotch-Irish for the most part proceeded between the parallel ridges of the mountains and spread south and west through the mountain gaps. Streams of these people came west into Kentucky and Tennessee from Virginia and the Carolinas, while smaller streams continued north and west across the Ohio, and south into the Old Southwest.

The great West seemed boundless in those days of slow locomotion, and little thought was given to the conservation either of material or cultural values. These conquerors of a wilderness were inspired largely by economic motives, being by this time somewhat removed from the religious interests which had been in part responsible for bringing earlier generations to our shores. The spirit of religion tended to disappear, leaving only a few empty forms as men battled with nature for an existence. Bishop Francis Asbury wrote in his *Journal* in March 1797:

When I reflect that not one in a hundred came here (i. e., into the West) to get religion; but rather to get plenty of good land, I think it will be well if some or many do not eventually lose their souls.¹

Our government by its paternalistic land policy continually opened up more land than was needed and brought about an accelerating

¹ Asbury, Francis, *Journal*, New York, 1821, ii, 286.

over-production with inevitably recurring periods of agrarian depression. These liberal policies represented the easiest, perhaps the only enforceable, plan for bringing a slight degree of order out of an almost riotous scramble for new land and opportunity.

True culture in trans-Appalachian America was retarded by at least a century by the great westward movement, involving as it did a turning backward of the normal or ordinary processes of social evolution by an over-rapid conquest of a vast wilderness in a time of slow communication and pre-scientific techniques. Social conditions in the early part of our period were, according to most accounts, in a deplorable state. The frontier had the effect of increasing the physical resistance of the pioneer, but at the same time it seared his moral sensibilities and coarsened his aesthetic appreciations. When one reads of moral conditions in Kentucky and the surrounding region prior to the Great Religious Revival (subsiding around 1805), one realizes something of the reckless independence and unbridled license that must have existed in early frontier society. Among our secular historians, McMaster observes that

Travellers from . . . the East were shocked at the balls, the drinking, the fighting, and the utter disregard paid to the Sabbath day. Pious men were terrified at the drunkenness, the vice, the gambling, the brutal fights, the gouging, the needless duels they beheld on every hand.²

And McDonnold, perhaps not strictly impartial in his view of Scotch-Irish Presbyterianism, from which his own sect sprang after bitter controversy, yet records that

According to the testimony of the Rev. David Rice, the first Presbyterian minister who settled in Kentucky, and of the Rev. Dr. Davidson, the historian of the Presbyterian Church in that State, most of the ministers of that Church, in Rice's day, were bad men. Drunkenness, wrangling, licentiousness, and heresy brought most of them to grief sooner or later.³

It was in such an environment, if we are to believe the reports, that the religious attitudes and ideas of the early frontiersman were molded and developed. These ideas we shall now examine on their frontier side, reserving an examination of their imported phases for a later portion of this study.

The religious frame of mind prevalent among people in a

² McMaster, John B., *History of the People of the U. S.*, New York, 1917, ii, 152, 577, 578.

³ McDonnold, B. W., *History of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church*, Nashville, 1888, p. 7.

given area may reasonably be supposed to have a very close relation to the type of life they are called upon to live. For example, fear played a very large part in the experience of the backwoodsman. The frontier family in the early nineteenth century was in more or less constant dread of foes within and foes without. There clung to the new settler the haunting fear of starvation until such a time as he could clear his ground and gather his crops; even then, fire or predatory Indians might destroy or take away all he had garnered and thus reduce him and his family to the use of the wild meat of the woodlands as their only means of sustenance. The fear of ferocious beasts and of Indian savages was a very real one for a considerable period. The thunder and wind-storms which went crashing through the primeval forests when neighbors were out of sight and hearing must have filled frontier hearts with awe and terror. Add to this the many fears arising from an almost childlike ignorance of scientific explanations for the many startling phenomena in the world about them, and the sum is considerable.

The immoralities and godlessness to which we have already referred furnish much of the explanation for the overpowering frontier sense of sin, and the accompanying fear of eternal punishment. The revivalists made full use of fear. Most of them doubtless did this in all good faith. They shared the same fears, or had shared them prior to some earlier liberating religious experience. The accounts of these revival scenes abound with descriptions of the unutterable agony of soul of persons "under conviction," their heart-rending cries for mercy, their groanings and weepings over what justice must have in store. Exhibitions of fear are best seen in the "exercises" that accompanied the camp-meetings in Kentucky and elsewhere. Persons thus afflicted felt themselves to be receiving punishment at the hands of an angry Deity because of their sins or their resistance to the Spirit's promptings. Groups gathered in parts of the camp-meeting grove or in homes, and talked about eternity, their unpreparedness to come to judgment, and the awful outlook in general—all fear-provoking themes. Altogether, it appears to us to be a moot question whether fear could have been dispensed with as a reforming factor in the American frontier at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Certain it is that any sudden disillusionment would have been socially disastrous, so completely did fear permeate the entire system of frontier religious ideas and controls. Thus Peter Cartwright tells us of the morally disorganizing effect, upon a frontier crowd, of Universalist views preached by an old Baptist minister who had sud-

denly gone over from Calvinism to an ultra-liberal position.⁴

The gullibility of frontier folk in religious matters can hardly be denied by the most sympathetic student. These people, with the exception of a relatively small element more recently from New England, Virginia or other more settled areas, were for the most part one or more generations removed in time and many miles removed in space from the world's higher Christian cultures. They were accordingly much given to acceptance of primitive notions and superstitions which the Indians had left behind, or which grew up in this reversed march of social life. Perhaps no better proof of frontier credulity need be offered than that of the ready appearance of, and considerable following attracted by, certain new and sometimes peculiar cults. The advances made by the Shakers, the Mormons, the Millerites and the Two-Seed-in-the-Spirit Baptists illustrate the point. People in these isolated communities were easily impressed by distinctions which carried no actual or consequential differences. The bitterest denominational opponents were those which had most in common and were thus forced to magnify every small item that seemed unique in the one group or the other. Frontier credulity made it easy to hinge one's eternal salvation on the difference between tweedledum and tweedledee. It would seem that most of the unusual events of life were explained as direct acts of God or as in some way the outworking of the supernatural order. Even the frank Peter Cartwright, while drawing the line at certain obvious hoaxes and extremes, yet saw the hand of God in most of the strange occurrences he witnessed.⁵ The divine activity was commonly characterized as a "judgment" or as "providential care," depending upon the viewpoint of the interpreter. The contemporary writers, most of them from the clergy, are quite unabashed in their statement of ideas which to the scientific mind come clearly within the category of the superstitious or magical, though with religious reference. Frontier evangelists were often regarded by the laity as possessing occult powers, for good or ill. Thus Cartwright's sipping of a little peppermint for a stomach ailment while in the pulpit, caused some of his hearers to connect the incident with the sudden appearance of the "jerks" among them. The same small bottle of medicine was later his best defense against a planned flogging.⁶

⁴ Cartwright, Peter, *Autobiography*, Cincinnati, p. 29.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 51: "I have always looked upon the jerks as a judgment sent from God, first, to bring sinners to repentance; and, secondly, to show professors that God could work with or without means."

⁶ Cartwright, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-50.

Prayer seems to have been regarded and used, by sinner as well as saint, as a means of securing direct advantages through the setting aside of natural causation. These benefits were sometimes of a quite prosaic and material character; at other times, of more general consequence. J. B. Finley, frontier preacher, in writing of the events of his life prior to his conversion, allows us to conclude that the average wicked frontiersman could and did pray for direct divine intervention in relatively unimportant matters. He says:

Wicked as I was, I was accustomed to pray for luck in hunting . . . Once, in particular, my brother John and myself had been hunting for three entire days without success, and were hungry as wolves . . . Weary and faint, I prayed to God for help. My brother, being on the opposite side of a branch, as soon as I ceased praying, started up a buck, which ran directly toward me. I was as much impressed with the belief that God had sent him as that he sent the ram to the thicket on Moriah. After coming near to me, he stopped, and I shot him.⁷

A more spectacular case is that recorded by McDonnold on the basis of earlier accounts. He tells of an open-air funeral at which a great crowd had gathered. A severe storm was approaching, and promised to dispel the crowd and mar the occasion. Whereupon, the Rev. Thos. Calhoun,

raised his hands to heaven and prayed God not to allow the rain to disturb the solemn worship. Then, turning to the congregation, he assured them that God would not allow the rain to come upon their saddles. The cloud parted, and it rained all around, hard and long, but none fell either on the camp-ground or on the multitude of horses which stood with saddles on them in the adjacent grove.⁸

Belief in a more or less capricious supernatural activity is also shown in frontier notions about prophecy. There was thought to be something divinely inspired and prophetic in the words of persons when in the midst of strange psychical or nervous maladies. This idea was congenial to the frontier mind. Not only were strange divine messages thought to come in words but also through the media of trances and visions. Miss Cleveland's study of primary sources on the Great Revival yields this information—

As it was customary for all who had fallen to exhort their fellows, even the children were eagerly listened to . . . Trances and visions became common among those affected by the

⁷ Finley, James B., *Autobiography*, Cincinnati, 1854, p. 156.

⁸ McDonnold, B. W., *History of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church*, p. 35.

exercises. These in a measure fostered the prophetic spirit . . . Great mischief was wrought by these visionary people. They possessed little common sense and wielded almost unbounded influence on certain superstitious minds.⁹

Frontier people were inclined to depreciate education and culture.¹⁰ Mode, in making a case for the frontier as, among other things, a destroyer of many of society's most highly prized refinements, hardly overdraws the frontier lack of reverence for religious forms and symbols and lack of deference toward high office, seniority, family lineage and tradition. A knowledge of American political and military history in its western phases is sufficient to afford one convincing examples of frontier cocksureness, bravado, and feeling of self-sufficiency. The pioneer's ignorance of, and feeling of contempt for, other cultures and other times than his own, led to a reduced appreciation for the beautiful and to a general discounting of refinement in clothes, language and manners.

The frontier attitude toward education is well displayed in a general depreciation of academic training for the ministry, during most of our period; and in some isolated places to the present day. The older denominations east of the mountains were quite unprepared for the great westward expansion which made such heavy demands upon the sources of leadership supply. This fact was a prime cause of the Cumberland defection from the Presbyterian Church in the Cumberland River region. The West had so little education in these early years that it came to disparage formal training as worse than useless. This attitude toward learning was not helped by the fact that the few educated preachers in the West were not infrequently mere formalists who read moral essays without much semblance of spontaneity or warm feeling. Education came to be the synonym for dryness, coldness and impracticability. Rusk says:

In general it may be said that . . . Protestant sects succeeded in the pioneer West in inverse ratio to their intellectual attainments, and in direct ratio to their emotional appeal.¹¹

The Methodists, Baptists, Cumberland Presbyterians, Disciples and other typically frontier sects achieved marked success with men of great enthusiasm and little academic preparation. Old Gover-

⁹ Cleveland, C. C., *Great Revival in the West*, Chicago, 1916, pp. 97, 104.

¹⁰ Note Davenport's conclusions (*Primitive Traits in Religious Revivals*, pp. 9, 242) as to the relation between illiteracy and emotionalism.

¹¹ Rusk, Ralph L., *Literature of the Middle Western Frontier*, New York, 1925, p. 46.

nor Ford in 1847, writing as a first-hand observer of the earlier period, says:

Preachers of the gospel frequently sprung up from the body of the people at home, without previous training, except in religious exercises and in the study of the Holy Scriptures. In those primitive times it was not thought to be necessary that a teacher of religion should be a scholar. It was thought to be his business to preach from a knowledge of the Scriptures alone, to make appeals warm from the heart . . .¹²

The rapid planting of small colleges in this and the later Western frontier does not disprove the interpretation just given. The college ideal was not indigenous to the frontier. The early colleges were planted by denominations, and would seem to represent the projection of coastal standards, largely Congregational and Presbyterian at the first. The average early frontier college had a curriculum too scholastic, disciplinary and divorced from practical things to have been the product of local demand. The further fact that frontier colleges were poorly attended, so that their presidents spent most of their time in coaxing reluctant young people to come to their respective halls, is evidence in the same direction. In the period of controversy and division which got well under way before the close of our period, the frontier appreciation of ministerial training began to develop and academic equipment gained an understandable purpose.

The frontier idea that dress should be plain and simple also had a religious application. This emphasis to some extent represents a carrying over of frontier necessity. The people of the backwoods could not dress well,—in fact had no logical reason to do so. Quite humanly they disliked to see others adorn themselves in the latest fashions, least of all their minister who was looked to as an example for the group in humility and unworldliness. This plainness extended to articles of jewelry, watches, and to anything else that tended to set an individual above his fellows in an artificial way. The venerable J. B. Finley of the old Ohio Methodist Conference was, according to an early *Western Christian Advocate*, "unsparing in his denunciation of gold watches, jewelry and all clerical foppery."¹³ The projection forward of this frontier ten-

¹² Ford, Thomas, *History of Illinois*, 1854, pp. 38-40; also see Buck, S. J., *Illinois in 1818*, Springfield, 1917, pp. 173, 174; Channing, E., *Hist. of U. S.*, v, 232; Cleveland, *op. cit.*, p. 48; Mode, P. G., *Frontier Spirit in American Christianity*, New York, 1923, pp. 63ff.

¹³ *Western Christian Advocate*, September 1, 1858, as reviewed by Sweet, W. W., *Circuit-rider Days in Indiana*, Indianapolis, 1916, p. 85.

dency toward democratizing even one's personal attire is held by some to be responsible for the later, and still growing, general American disdain for the ministerial garb or any device calculated to mark one as clerical in distinction from lay or secular.¹⁴

What may be styled "religious atomism" prevailed in the early frontier, due no doubt to pioneer lack of contact with, hence appreciation for, the world at large. Frontier people had little feeling of unity with the rest of Christendom or with the rest of the nation for that matter, if we may judge from their free lance activities in politics or from the number of religious sects that grew and flourished in their midst. Pioneer life itself forced every individual to make his own decisions, fight his own battles, and make secure his own future. Self-realization was the first concern. The hyper-democratic philosophy which came to complete national triumph with the election of Jackson at the close of our period was now spreading widely. This philosophy of the frontier proclaimed that one man is as good as another and one man's opinion as good as another's. It was the thought that each man can interpret the Bible best for himself that furnished a prime principle in the Disciples movement. The ideal set by Thomas Campbell and his better known son, Alexander, envisioned the church as a fellowship in which every Christian might construct his own creed. "The right to differ, but not to divide" gained a following as a theory but did not work out in just this fashion in pioneer practice. When it came to his religion, the pioneer owned the right to divide as well as to differ; and the early followers of Campbell in actual practice opposed differing as well as dividing. The definition of what was "scriptural" and what was not, soon became a hard and fast one though not confined to an official denominational volume. The headway which the Disciples made in the years beginning near the close of our period can hardly be explained by any general frontier sentiment in favor of creating a universal fellowship in which persons who differ may participate, but rather by the theoretical enlargement, by this sect, of the religious prerogatives of the individual.

The chaotic type of co-operation found in the camp-meeting can hardly be cited as disproving our assertion as to the individualism of the pioneer in matters religious. The camp-meeting was not a formal organization, but a spontaneous riot of persons swept together by a common emotion. It lacked all permanence, and the persons attending came and went with no courtesy toward the

¹⁴ Mode, P. G., *op. cit.*, pp. 157ff., shares this view.

speaker and no apparent feeling of allegiance to this larger group. The camp-meeting message was one of individual salvation. Religious liberty reached its zenith on the frontier. The spirit of the limitless prairies found its way into the attitude of mind here reflected—an attitude which has made America the record-holder as an incubator and brooder of small sects. Frontier religious ideas and attitudes were not unrelieved in their emphasis on the individual. It is only fair to state that there were certain partially-redeeming social references in the religion of the backwoods people. First of all, there was ordinarily a spirit of co-operation within the local religious group itself; possibly denominational rivalry caused each sect, but more particularly each congregation, to feel quite keenly the interdependence of its members. A type of inter-denominational or undenominational co-operation is to be seen in the projection from the East of the American Bible Society, the American Tract Society, the American Sunday School Union, and the celebrated Plan of Union. The camp-meeting, already cited, did bring a truce of a week or more among the local sects; and the welding effect of it sometimes continued after the emotion had subsided. Too, when a circuit-rider came through an unchurched section, the settlers quite willingly gathered at a neighbor's cabin or in a school-house, if such there might be, to share the service together. There was nowhere else to go, and the occasion was one affording fellowship and the expression of that social spirit which characterized co-operative house-raisings, husking-bees and the like. What might have come about had the official organizers of rival denominations not come into these new communities to awaken the ever-latent religious individualism, we do not know. The facts show that instead of the evolution of an indigenous community church there came about the segmentation of the school-house groups into many small churches. We now pass to a consideration of certain leading religious ideas which were brought into the West by those sects which gained a large general following there.

It is impossible to draw any hard and fast line between the indigenous phase and the imported phase of the religious ideas cherished and acted upon by frontier people. It has been truly said that all the deepest religious divisions in America are of Old World origin. Similarly, it may be observed that the more fundamental religious ideas which divided frontier life into contending groups came from east of the Alleghenies. There was nothing in the frontier itself to cause people to be either Arminian or Calvinistic in the first place. The Indians had been neither. But the frontier environment did operate strongly in causing the acceptance

or rejection of various elements in the imported doctrines and techniques.

To begin with, Arminianism, with its fundamental "free will" idea, was a system of imported doctrines which became current in the frontier not so much because of their place of origin or their label as because of their congeniality. It was inevitable that the new independence which the settlers felt should incline them to the Arminian position. Calvinism, with its God of inexorable decrees, had already been subjected to several "improvements" and reinterpretations at the hands of its well-wishers, the Edwardians. Deism, popularized in this country by Thomas Paine, did not disappear quickly after his death in 1809. In a sense this philosophy represented a reaction against the Calvinistic idea of an arbitrary God. Universalism and Unitarianism were also getting under way in this country and were definitely reactions of red-blooded men against conceptions which made the individual little more than an automaton in the hands of an autocratic Deity. But it was when Calvinism came into the middle western frontier that it suffered its most severe jolts. The Congregationalists had for some time been growing more liberal. The Presbyterians in holding to their conservative position suffered several severe splits in the West. The Baptists had their anti-Calvinistic groups which represented varying degrees of desertion of the older position. When, in addition to this, the numerous Methodists began pouring into Scotch-Irish strongholds, Calvinism lost its future.

And yet the process was doubtless unconsciously followed, so far as the rank and file were concerned. It was the spirit of the West that rebelled against deterministic views of the more extreme type. Barton W. Stone, for example, came west as a Calvinistic Presbyterian in the early years of his ministry, and accepted a call to the united congregations of Cane Ridge and Concord, Kentucky. He was ordained, although he received the Confession of Faith with qualifications. He says in his biography:

Doubts arose in my mind on the doctrines of election, reprobation, and predestination.¹⁵

Only a lenient presbytery permitted him to be ordained. But the West did not remove his doubts; it only increased his dissatisfaction with Calvinism, so that he later wrote a most extreme indictment of the system of religious ideas he had formerly embraced.¹⁶

¹⁵ Rogers, John, (ed.), *Biography of Barton W. Stone*, Cincinnati, 1847, p. 29.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 33, 34.

Turning to the Cumberland Presbyterians (distinctly a product of the frontier), we find a professed non-acceptance of either the Calvinistic or the Arminian position, the creed stating that the truth about election and reprobation "lies between the opposite extremes."¹⁷ Yet when we read the views of their leading spokesman and historian, we find that the practical result is Arminian. The frontier set about completing the de-Calvinization of Calvinism as soon as the latter appeared over the mountains, and today such doctrines in their harder outlines are well nigh extinct in America.

Another approach to an understanding of the ideas which we are now considering is by way of an examination of the techniques of evangelism and forms of service to which the frontier responded best. We find, for example, that anything which smacked of an establishment of the church was abhorred in the West; so were form and ritual if brought to the point of prominence. "Read" sermons were very unpopular. The camp-meeting which, as an acclimatized religious institution ranks high in the frontier, was the very antithesis of form and order. Revivalism, while not exclusively a frontier technique, was certainly more popular there than anywhere else. Its marvelous "results" are frequently cited by frontier writers as all-sufficient proof that man did not contrive this plan but that its rise was spontaneous and hence divinely arranged.

The itineracy, successfully used by the Methodists, and the farmer-preacher plan, used with increasing success by the Baptists, accorded thoroughly with frontier ideas with respect to equality. In both cases, it is evident that the frontier community demanded that its minister be a democrat, one of the people, in close touch with all phases of the life of his flock, subject to all the hardships which nature imposed, and imbued with the spirit of the West. These pioneers evidently did not object to a military scheme of things, even in church government, provided the officials from highest to lowest, stayed at the battle front with all its dangers and not in some swivel-chair retreat in the East. They did not mind being bossed by a participant, but they would not tolerate absentee dictation. So it was that the Methodist itineracy, though not conceived on the frontier and though it involved an episcopacy and sub-episcopacy, came to phenomenal success under an Asbury and presiding elders of like mold, all of whom received the same salary, travelled the same frontier trails and suffered the same frontier privations. The farmer-preacher plan of the Baptists and

¹⁷ McDonnold, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

others may be said to be an outgrowth of frontier ideas and necessities. This type of minister was a man of the people and no one could question his sympathy with all things frontier. He had the advantage (over the itineracy) of being rooted in one community, and thus could be in closer touch with current needs and more available in emergency; he, of course, had the disadvantage of having less time for the study and preparation of his sermons. Both plans described were widely approved by frontier opinion, if we may judge on the basis of numerical gains in membership enjoyed by denominations employing them. Toward the middle of the nineteenth century, the West awarded its premiums to the three types of ministry as follows: itineracy first, farmer-preacher plan second, settled-minister plan third.¹⁸

The pioneer was no adept in theological discussion, although doctrinal matters were more a matter of every-day conversation at that time than at the present. The early settler seemed to take readily to the traditional emphasis on the justice and righteousness of God the Father, and the love and mercy of Christ the Son. The frontiersman thought in contrasts. His life was usually one of moral and emotional extremes. Whenever the backwoods preacher mentioned the love of God, he was apt to represent it as qualified, conditional, full of warning. The believer loved God the Father in a formal way; but it was to Christ he gave his spontaneous love. Christ was his champion, his divine hero, the one who had died in order in some way to satisfy God's sense of justice as to the deserts of sinful man. Along with the thought of God's infinite righteousness and justice went the idea of man's debased condition and utter dependence upon God. This is a Calvinistic emphasis retained by all sects with that tradition and shared also by most thoroughgoing Arminians in the frontier. The Unitarian exaltation of man found little support among the pioneers, lay or clerical. Father Rice, for instance, spoke of the "absolute unworthiness in the sinful creature of the smallest crumb of mercy from the hand of a holy God."¹⁹ This attitude was a typical one.

Frontier dualism made much of the activities of the Holy Spirit and of Satan and his hosts. The various conflicts and con-

¹⁸ Channing, *op. cit.*, v, 221, says that "From the best figures attainable, the Presbyterians increased in the fifty years (1800-1850) from 40,000 to 500,000, the Baptists from 100,000 to 800,000, and the Methodist Episcopal Church in all its branches from 65,000 to over 1,250,000. Of course some of this growth occurred in the 'Old Thirteen' and there it represented a withdrawal from the two religious bodies that might well be called established . . . Episcopalian . . . and Congregational."

¹⁹ Rice, quoted by McDonnold, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

trasts within the experience of the individual were almost invariably assigned to these contending agencies. Even the favoring and hampering circumstances of every day life were explained in this fashion, often quite naïvely. The language of frontier preachers is undoubtedly figurative in many instances, and yet there is revealed a conception of spiritual agencies which is not common among Christian groups today. In describing one particular meeting, Cartwright says:

The heavenly fire spread in almost every direction.²⁰

McGready, well-known frontier revivalist, thus describes the Spirit's activity in Logan County, Kentucky:

On Saturday evening, after the congregation was dismissed, a few seriously exercised Christians were sitting conversing together, and appeared to be more than commonly engaged; the flame started from them and appeared to overspread the whole house . . .²¹

The devil was a convenient scape-goat in frontier times. Just as Eve is said to have taken the blame only long enough to pass it on to the serpent, so the frontiersman doubtless found it a handy procedure to saddle his various shortcomings upon Satan. Sometimes, instead of acknowledging a lack of tact, industry or diligence in a particular situation, the frontier preacher supposed as a matter of course that the Devil had camped on his trail and had undone his work. Even the diligent and devoted Asbury, when discouragement greeted him at some point which he had left with high optimism on his last previous round, entered in his journal:

Returned to Philadelphia, and preached at 8 with some power. I find that Satan strives to sow discord among us; and this makes me desirous to leave the city.²²

Doctrines dealing with heaven and hell, and with rewards and punishments, were picturesquely put to the fore by all frontier sects which made any noteworthy appeal to the people. Men inured to a hard and cruel nature, and forced to battle with treacherous foes without and overpowering passions within, had no use for teachings which made of God a more or less indulgent being. Keeping straight was for them such a battle that it called for a corresponding compensation in the life beyond. Frontier villages such as those of Logan County, Kentucky, prior to the Revival, were verit-

²⁰ Cartwright, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

²¹ "McGready's Narrative of the Revival in Logan County," in *New York Missionary Magazine* (1803), pp. 192-194.

²² Asbury, Francis, *Journal*, i, 20.

able hells. Indian outrages, frontier brawls and gougings, and countless circumstances of a shocking sort made it require no stretch of the imagination to picture eternal torment for the wicked.

The religious sects which succeeded best in the West made one or the other of two general approaches to the matter of conversion. By far the most popular conception was that which posited a definite experience in which the sinner received an inner "witness" of his forgiveness and acceptance by God. The Methodists emphasized "experimental religion," and it was after an "experience" that most of the people of the frontier sought. Those who held this view laid great stress upon the emotions; religion was something to be felt. Since the backwoodsman with limited cultural privileges naturally had a better apparatus for feeling than for thinking, he was best appealed to on the feeling level. Without the slightest doubt many of the conversions of this character were morally reorganizing. Many persons were brought up to a moral crisis, and emerged with new personalities, new attitudes, new outlooks upon life. This type of conversion was regularly preceded by what was known as "conviction," a terrible sense of sin and unworthiness before God. The duration and severity of this conviction varied, but the experience was regarded as essential. The witness which came to the seeking sinner often transported him into a veritable dream world.²³ The frontier love of contrast tended to make the emotional range between conviction and assurance a measure of the genuineness of one's conversion.

The other approach to the matter of conversion which gained a considerable following, especially in the latter part of the period which we are considering, was that which emphasized obedience and certain somewhat reasoned or deliberate decisions as constituting conversion. The Disciples were perhaps the leading exponents of this idea.²⁴ Presbyterians of the non-revivalistic type occupied practically the position of the Disciples in their ideas about conversion. This fact was the ground of much criticism by the frontierized Cumberland Presbyterians, whose approach to conversion

²³ Cartwright, *op. cit.*, p. 37, says: "Divine light flashed all round me, unspeakable joy sprung up in my soul. I rose to my feet, opened my eyes, and it really seemed as if I was in heaven; the trees, the leaves on them, and everything seemed, and I really thought were, praising God." Finley, *op. cit.*, p. 169, says: "Suddenly my load was gone, my guilt removed, and presently the direct witness from heaven shone full upon my soul. Then there flowed such copious streams of love into the hitherto waste and desolate places of my soul, that I thought I should die with excess of joy. I cried, I laughed, I shouted . . ."

²⁴ Cf. Moore, W. T., *A Comprehensive History of the Disciples of Christ*, New York, 1909, p. 660.

was more like that of the Methodists. It is our opinion that the view stressing experience in the conversion process accorded best with frontier ideas on the subject; and that the Disciples and Presbyterians who succeeded best in the frontier really carried their conversion technique, if not their conversion teaching, to the "experience" level.

In these early times men felt themselves irresistibly, often audibly, "called" to the work of evangelizing their fellowmen. Doubt as to the validity of a man's call was enough to disqualify him as a minister in the opinion of frontier people. The Cumberland Presbyterians in their reaction against the highly trained but often unimpassioned ministry of the Presbyterian mother church, were wont to charge the latter body with recruiting its ministerial ranks without thought of any divine calling. Resistance to the call plunged a man into agonies of soul and lapses in morality comparable to those experienced when under conviction prior to conversion.²⁵ When at last surrender was made, the preacher-to-be often told of hearing the voice of God and witnessing other strange phenomena.

Last of all we mention the doctrine of sanctification or holiness, which seems to have had unusual popularity in frontier America and to have taken various forms in widely-different sects. On account of the unsystematic way in which pioneer writers use the various names for the doctrine and present the underlying systems of ideas, scholars have found it difficult to disentangle a single common thread of meaning running through the several systems. In spite of this fact, it is probably true that in frontier times the ideal itself was fairly well understood. Differences of opinion related more to the mode by which the ideal might be realized in one's experience, or to the importance of the attainment in one's ultimate salvation. John Wesley in his time was the leading popularizer of the doctrine of sanctification or Christian perfection, and it was the Wesleyan interpretation which held widest sway in the period we are considering. The Methodist Episcopal Church which placed great emphasis on this teaching and experience in frontier times, relaxed its enthusiasm with the passing of the frontier, and has suffered through the years a number of defections of groups desiring to get back to older standards, sometimes described as "Wesleyan," sometimes as "primitive" or "apostolic." These small, so-called "holiness" sects to the present day have thrived best in rural sections and frontier areas.

²⁵ James B. Finley's case is told by Finley himself in his *Autobiography*, pp. 172-180.

There were in general two views on Christian perfection, the one characteristically regarding it as the ideal or goal of a sanctified life, the other claiming it as a state to be entered into instantaneously. Both regarded sanctification as something subsequent to conversion. For John Wesley sanctification was a process inaugurated by a religious crisis or experience, and continued as a gradual ascent to the goal of Christian perfection. "Go on to perfection" was the Methodist gospel challenge. Asbury was a true disciple of Wesley in this matter. His *Journal* contains jottings such as these:

I am still sensible of my deep insufficiency, and that mostly with regard to holiness . . . It is for holiness my spirit mourns. . . . I exhorted them to holiness, and relative duties, and spake of Satan's temptations. . . . I met the class; they were stirred up, thirsting for full sanctification. . . . I am labouring for God, and my soul is pressing after full salvation. . . . I am still seeking full and final salvation. . . .²⁶

Apparently, Asbury did not hinge one's hope of salvation on one's actual attainment of Christian perfection, but rather on one's striving with all diligence in that direction. The ideal was conceived as a glorious privilege for the converted individual, an ideal toward which he should make progress daily. Asbury reckons himself as among those who have not attained, but are laboring to attain, this goal—complete purity of heart, uprightness of life, holiness of character, perfect love.

Many of the Stoneites had a receptive attitude toward the teaching about this added gift or attainment. Their doctrine of the "inner light" placed them in the general position of the holiness groups which emphasized the Holy Spirit's activity. The Shakers had a holiness doctrine of the extreme type, and because of the timidity of a few of the Stoneite leaders with regard to accepting the idea, the former sect promised for a time to capture the whole Stoneite constituency. Stone himself wrote of the Shaker missionaries who had come among his people that they

informed us . . . that as far as we had gone we were right; but we had not gone far enough into the work—that they were sent by their brethren to teach the way of God more perfectly, by obedience to which we should be led into perfect holiness . . . Their coming was at a most inauspicious time. Some of us were verging on fanaticism . . . and some were earnestly breathing after perfection in holiness, of which attainment they were almost despairing, by reason of remaining depravity.²⁷

²⁶ Asbury, *Journal*, i, pp. 5, 286, 287, 290, 294, etc.

²⁷ Rogers (ed), *Biography of Elder Barton Warren Stone*, Written by Himself, pp. 61-64.

Our greatest surprise perhaps is to find that the Cumberland Presbyterians embraced the doctrine of sanctification in frontier times. Holiness teaching of the general type we have described is not in the Presbyterian tradition, so the Cumberlanders must have derived it from sects acclimatized in the frontier. This fact in itself is strong evidence that the backwoods region was a natural seed-bed for the germination and growth of holiness ideas. McDonnold quotes a number of older Cumberland sources to prove that the doctrine was, and continued to be, an integral part of their religious system. Growth toward the ideal was held to be made possible only by the baptism of the Holy Spirit. This author says:

The earnest advocacy of this Paraclete baptism, as a distinct blessing, after conversion, is found in many of the writings of our fathers.²⁸

This experience he also regarded as a necessary preparation for the ministry.²⁹

Sanctification, then, represents the climax in Christian zeal and idealism on the frontier. The quest for holiness of life comes as a natural reaction against a low state of public morals, and is the later stage or the indefinitely-prolonged expression of any general religious awakening. It is an evidence of a desire that a revival of religion shall be made permanent in holy living. It is peculiarly true of Christian groups which have reacted against iron-clad procedure (creedal or liturgical) that they tend to emphasize direct guidance of the Holy Spirit in the individual lives of the members of such groups. The freedom from restraint which marked the religion of the early frontier destroyed the feeling of dependence on all institutionalized forms that could not meet frontier needs, and prompted the frontiersman to seek holiness of life through the direct agency of the Spirit.

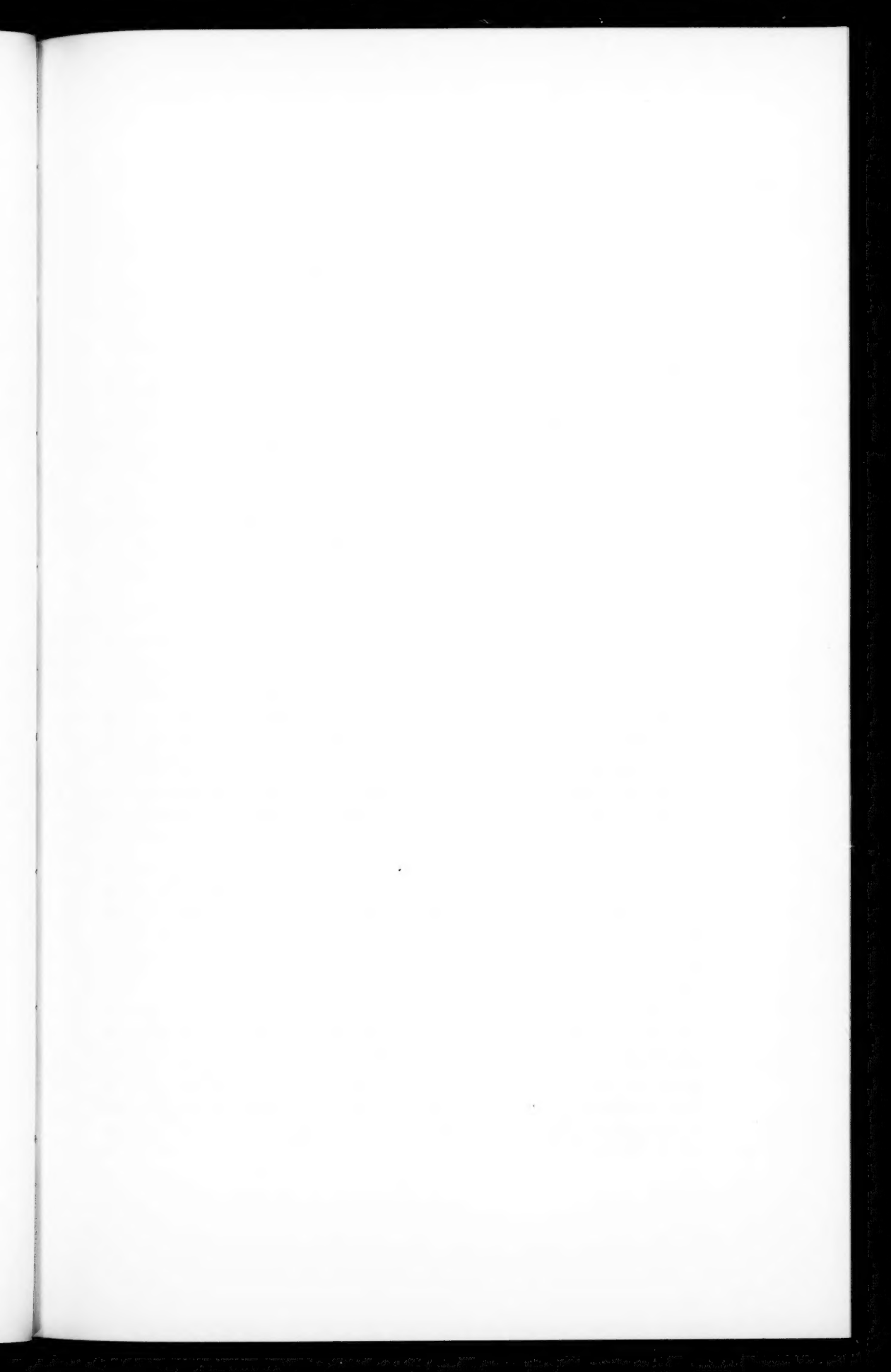
In summarizing, we should recall that the Great Westward Movement into the ever-receding frontier created unprecedented problems in socialization and set the clock of culture back by several generations. The great streams of population which poured into the untamed wilderness made tremendous demands upon the resources of religious leadership in America, and a train of crises stimulated our great denominations to develop techniques in keeping with the necessities of the situation. The over-rapid settlement of the frontier produced a series of economic tensions, sec-

²⁸ McDonnold, *op. cit.*, pp. 36, 37.

²⁹ *Ibid.* Note McAdow's words.

tional animosities and a general lack of solidarity, all of which entered in some measure into the ideas and attitudes of mind which may be thought of as typically frontier. An environment of fear and a general state of isolation from the world at large led to a narrowing of vision and a concentration on local interests. Religious conceptions were modified accordingly. The receding savage tribes left many of their superstitions behind and the traditional theology supplied a framework for these and other fantastic notions of indigenous origin. Frontier hardship acted as a leveling agent and tended toward a depreciation of education and culture and a democratizing of all social institutions. Individualistic tendencies and the western sense of freedom made short work of the stricter tenets of Calvinism and modified other doctrinal statements in such a way as to give the individual greater religious prerogatives. Artificial distinctions and lifeless forms fell beneath the ban of frontier opinion and gave place to the recognition of men as men, and to warm-blooded enthusiasms.

The frontier selected and modified all its imported creeds, clinging tenaciously to all those elements which presented vigorous contrasts in keeping with the pioneer's own inner conflicts, emotional extremes and strenuous environment. The frontier sense of sin, and joy of conversion, went from one extremity of the emotional series to the other. Religion was characteristically conceived as something to be felt, a divine assurance, a salvation from sin and judgment. Finally, the frontier in its devotion to the dream of the perfect and holy life expressed the idealism of many noble religious spirits. The religious frontiersman craved, most of all, divine aid to turn his losing battle with unruly passions into victory, and to make him master of his soul's destiny. His religious ideas can best be understood as a fabric in which imported traditional concepts supplied the woof and frontier attitudes the binding warp.



IN MEMORIAM

ALBERT HENRY NEWMAN, D.D., LL.D.

Albert Henry Newman, born in Edgefield County, South Carolina, August 25, 1852, died at his home in Austin, Texas, June 4, 1933.

Professor Newman received his A.B. from Mercer University in 1871 and graduated from Rochester Theological Seminary in 1875. The following year he was graduate student in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabic at the Southern Theological Seminary, Louisville, Ky., returning to his *alma mater* at Rochester to serve as Professor of Church History from 1877 to 1881. For the next twenty years he occupied a similar chair at MacMaster University, Toronto, Canada. These two decades constituted the period of his most productive literary work. His *History of the Baptist Churches in the United States*, being Vol. II of *The American Church History Series*, appeared in 1894; *A History of Anti-Pedobaptism* in 1897; Vol. I of *A Manual of Church History* in 1900, and *A Century of Baptist Achievement* in 1901.

From MacMaster University he went to Baylor University, Texas, where he taught until 1908, going in that year to Southwestern Theological Seminary, Fort Worth, Texas, where he was professor and dean until 1913. He returned to Baylor University for an eight year term and finally, in 1921, to the educational institution of his youth, Mercer University, upon retirement from which in 1929 he became Professor Emeritus. During these years Dr. Newman received many appointments as special lecturer in his chosen field. In 1906 and again in 1926 he was professorial lecturer in Church History in the Divinity School of the University of Chicago, where the present writer last met him and enjoyed the vigor and strength of his body and mind. Dr. Newman lectured at Vanderbilt University on Church History and Comparative Religions during 1917-18, and was Visiting Professor at MacMaster University in 1927, '28 and '29.

In addition to the published works mentioned above, the second volume of his *Manual* appeared in 1903, a revised and enlarged edition of which was brought out in 1932. He was translator and editor of Immer's *Hermeneutics of the New Testament*, 1877; author of *Anti-Manichean Works of Augustine*, in Vol. IV of the *Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers* and department editor for Church History of the new *Schaff-Herzog Encyclopaedia of Religious Knowledge* since 1905.

Many deserved honors came to Dr. Newman during his long life. The fact that he was called to teach in the two institutions from which he had graduated and to serve as special lecturer in those in which he had formerly been professor, attests his ability as a scholar and teacher. The demand that his second volume of the *Manual* should be brought down to date reveals the authoritative position held by that work among historians of the church. The bestowal upon him by Mercer University of the honorary degrees of D.D. and LL.D. in 1885 and 1921 respectively and of the

LL.D. by Southwestern Theological Seminary in 1883, and by MacMaster University in 1914, was universally approved.

Dr. Newman was thorough in his scholarship, concise but interesting in his writings. As his *Manual* in the larger field, so his productions in the narrower sphere of Baptist history will long remain authoritative.

R. E. E. Harkness.

BOOK REVIEWS

A HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY IN THE BALKANS: A STUDY IN THE SPREAD OF BYZANTINE CULTURE AMONG THE SLAVS

By MATTHEW SPINKA. *Studies in Church History*, Volume I. Chicago, The American Society of Church History, 1933. 202 pages. \$3.00 to members, \$4.50 to non-members.

This is an outstanding contribution to cultural history and to history of the Balkan Slavs in particular. It is founded on wide linguistic attainments and thorough research in a difficult and almost forbidding field heretofore inadequately developed by eastern scholars and virtually neglected by western scholars. The American Society of Church History is to be congratulated on inaugurating its *Studies in Church History* with such a work.

The author has wisely chosen to limit this pioneering effort to the period ending with the Turkish conquest of the Balkans. He devotes a chapter to the collapse of Graeco-Roman Christianity and the beginnings of the Slavic. The second and third chapters are given to the story of the conversion of the Bulgarians and the founding of the Bulgarian patriarchate. Then the conversion of the Serbs is traced prior to the time of St. Sava. This is followed in turn by an account of the Bulgarian church under the second empire. The rise and fall of the Serbian church is traced through its checkered career, while the concluding chapter is an analysis of Bogomilism in Bosnia and Hum (Herzegovina) to the Turkish conquest and the conversion of many Bogomils or Patarenes to Mohammedanism. An excellent bibliography, including the fundamental sources and the most important monographs in some seven or eight languages, adds to the value of the work.

That the author has produced much more than a church history is clear throughout. If history is to be conceived of as something more than past politics and economics, it must synthesize knowledge from all fields of human experience. The work under review throws new light not only on the social and intellectual history of the Balkans, but on the political and economic as well. In no other place is the disastrous rivalry of Rome and Constantinople for the spiritual and political domination of the Slavic hinterland so clearly and decisively exposed. The slow, halting and hesitating transition from the first conversions to Christianity for political expediency to the complete and permanent acceptance and triumph of Byzantine Christianity after numerous and often vital compromises, is for the first time portrayed in an authoritative manner from the best available records.

From it all we see that the Slavic peoples gradually abandoned much of their primitive pagan culture for Byzantine Christianity and civiliza-

tion and emerged as strong and virile national Christian cultures which four centuries of Turkish rule did not destroy. Although the Slavs conquered the Balkans politically and economically, the Byzantine spirit in turn subdued them. But in spite of this, the Bulgarians, Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes did not lose their identity, their language and their nationality, as did the Vandals, Lombards, Visigoths or the "Varangians" in Russia. To problems of this nature the book gives many clues heretofore unavailable to a wider-reading public.

Robert J. Kerner.

University of California.

REPUBLICAN RELIGION

By G. ADOLPH KOCH. New York: H. Holt and Company, 1933. xvi, 334 pages. \$3.00.

"The theme of this work is the story of what happened when Deism spread from the intelligentsia to the common man after the American Revolution; how republicanism in politics became identified with republicanism in religion and how republican politics triumphed in 1800 but republican religion was defeated by an equally enthusiastic evangelicism. (Preface, p. xv.) The book jacket tells us that "this volume is to tell of the founding of Deistic societies by the theophilanthropists; of the gospel of Reason and Nature as preached by Ethan Allen, Thomas Paine and Elihu Palmer . . . then with dramatic suddenness this infidel religion collapsed amid the triumph of fidelity and the complacent compromise of Unitarianism."

The reviewer regrets to say that in his judgment a great theme has here been treated in a superficial and fallacious manner; that there are but three chapters of this book that may be regarded as an original and scholarly contribution: the second ("Elihu Palmer, Militant Deist"); the third ("Organized Deism"); the fourth ("The Society of Ancient Druids"). To some extent the sixth chapter ("Twilight") is dependable, and the bibliography is excellent, although we note the omission of a paper on "The Beginnings of Arminianism in New England" by Francis A. Christie, published in the *Papers of the American Society of Church History*, 2nd Series, Vol. III (1912). In these sections there is important and hitherto unexploited material, worthily synthesized and correlated. Yet even these chapters are somewhat marred by a basic misunderstanding of Deism itself, its principles and prior history in Europe, its essential difference from mere infidelity, anti-clericalism and especially from "rational Christianity." To the author, all "rational Christianity" is Deism, either incipient or disguised. These faults render most of the Introduction ("Political Freedom or Freethought") irrelevant, and sometimes erroneous. "Congregational Unitarianism" in New England (p. 220) never was and never became Deism, and bore slight relation, actual or academic, with Allen, Palmer and Paine. The same faults vitiate the sweeping generalizations

of the Conclusion. For instance (p. 295 on) orthodox world missions, Plan of Union colleges in the West, Unitarian and Trinitarian humanitarian reforms, and Transcendental utopianism are all classed together as "New England's way of giving expression to the heritage of eighteenth century liberalism"! Again, to say that the founding of the Dudleian Lecture at Harvard in 1755 "openly proclaimed Deistic principles" is enough to make Dudley and Joseph Butler, too, squirm in their tombs! Unitarianism in New England is unduly credited with "the best citizens, the elite" of that region, evidently in the effort to support a current belief that the Unitarian movement "had its roots in prosperity, urbanity and worldliness" (p. 295), in a "balance of worldly wisdom and spiritual hypocrisy" (p. 186). Could it not be easily demonstrated that both the Trinitarian Congregationalists and the Episcopalians in New England had, even from 1775 to 1825 their full share of "respectable, prosperous, urbane and worldly" persons—as any Yale man will testify.

Deliberate delimitations of scope on the part of the author, thereby excluding the South, Kentucky, and the Western frontier must of course be permitted, but they are scarcely justifiable if the treatment of the subject is to be as thorough as his own thesis and the canons of good scholarship require. Yet even so—why are there but two meagre references to the Deistic religious society of John Fitch in Philadelphia? And deeper investigation would have revealed that, instead of eliminating Benjamin Franklin by the following dictum: "The movement to establish a religion of Deism, with meeting houses, services and other attributes of a religious institution, is not synonymous with the religious liberalism associated for example with the cosmopolitan Dr. Franklin" (p. xiv), as a matter of fact, of all Deists of history, such a movement both in America and Europe *was* the concern of the cosmopolitan Dr. Franklin to such a degree that a whole chapter might well have been devoted to the latter's vision and projects in this regard!

Minor errors are numerous. Perhaps it is most important to correct the impression that Thomas Paine founded the "Church of Theophilanthropy" in Paris (p. 90). Conway was quite fantastic in this surmise, often repeated but lacking one iota of evidence.

The field of Deistic religion, especially its prevalence and influence in this country from 1750 to 1860 is still relatively unexplored, but very significant and attractive. It is full of pitfalls, however, and almost obfuscated entirely by misconceptions, some of them held, as the book in question indicates, by well-known scholars. It is a grave mistake to suppose that the majority of Deists ever approved of Palmer or his desperate attempts to institutionalize the uninstitutionalizable! It is likewise a grave mistake to entertain the old reproach that a complacent Unitarianism "compromised" with what was left of Deism after 1800. On the contrary, facts would indicate that there was then, as now, a great gulf fixed between the bibliocentric, Christocentric religionist and the naturalistic, secularist philosopher.

Charles Lyttle.

The Meadville Theological School.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF BELGIUM TO THE CATHOLIC
CHURCH IN AMERICA (1523-1857)

By JOSEPH A. GRIFFIN. Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America, 1932. xvi, 235 pages.

That this Ph.D. thesis appears in the series of *Studies in American Church History* sponsored by Dr. Peter Guilday is a sufficient guarantee that it is a piece of sound and scholarly work. This statement requires qualification only to the extent implied in noting that, as evidenced by his documentation, a rather large proportion of the author's materials is drawn from secondary sources.

The contribution of Belgium to Roman Catholic missions and life in America has been much more important than her contribution to the country's population. From the time when Peter of Ghent, a Flemish Franciscan who was a kinsman of the Emperor Charles V, came as a missionary to Mexico in 1523, a rather steady stream of Belgian-born or Belgian-trained priests played their part in planting the faith in nearly all parts of both North and South America. To assemble the data regarding their work means the following of threads which are woven all through the religious history of both Americas. In making the story of the Belgian contribution intelligible, the author is therefore compelled to cover a wide range of material and to give a general, though necessarily incomplete, survey of a great part of the history of Catholic missions and growth in America, with the emphasis strongly upon the portion now included in the United States. In this as a matrix are set the individual records of a large number of missionaries who came out from Belgium and accounts of the work of those orders whose origin or personnel had the same source. It is notable, also, that there was a strong Belgian influence back of the establishment of the Congregation of the Propaganda Fidei which had jurisdiction over the church in America from 1622 until Pius X lifted America from the status of missionary territory.

Though such a study is useful and informing, it cannot be said that the following of a single national strand through the complex pattern of the church's life makes for well balanced history. It is impossible, also, to avoid the impression that this is selective history in still another sense. It is at least remarkable that, in the story of operations covering two continents and more than three centuries, there is no evidence that any project ever failed through the fault or weakness of the missionaries, that any unworthy person ever participated in it, that the church ever pursued any policy that was not wholly admirable according to present standards (even in Mexico), or that any missionary ever even made a mistake—except perhaps that Father Malou took the wrong side in the trustee controversy. It is hard to believe that a purely objective account of all the facts would present such an unbroken sequence of successes. It would seem, too, that a student who was neither Catholic nor Protestant could scarcely refrain, while recounting the persecutions of which Catholics were the victims in

Protestant countries, from making at least some casual allusion to the contemporaneous practice of Catholic countries.

W. E. Garrison.

The University of Chicago.

SAINT ANSELM: A CRITICAL BIOGRAPHY

By JOSEPH CLAYTON. Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Co., 1933. \$1.75.

Historians of theology sometimes forget that the great contemplative thinker who led the vanguard of the scholastics was also a fighting reformer of the church who spent six years in open combat with that royal Philistine, William Rufus, and eight years more in a scarcely less strenuous conflict of policies with Henry I—to win from these sons of the Conqueror some measure of privilege for the ecclesiastical power. This popular account of St. Anselm accords only twenty pages to his thought. The book is really the narrative of the career of a man of action. Yet Anselm, like his seventh century predecessor in the see of Canterbury, Theodore of Tarsus, may be said to have begun his career, so far as it is of special interest to us of to-day, at about three score years of age.

Through the stormy years of his primacy Anselm appears, in Mr. Clayton's book, as a flawless personality, "a man as brave and steadfast as he was gentle and wise." His heroism has no "heroics," but shines in quiet resolution in every crisis; his motives are irreproachable; and he combines with an exacting efficiency a love both of his fellowmen and of the simple truth. His is the poised and well-rounded character that is sometimes attained late in life. But the calm saintliness of Anselm did not lay hold of the imagination of his contemporaries, and many later saints were canonized before his turn came to be so distinguished by the unsaintly pope, Alexander VI.

Difficult indeed was the task of the Lombard prelate mediating between English subjects and Norman rulers, and teaching the King's bishops respect for the papal monarchy. The major problem which feudalism created for the church was that of lay investiture, and Mr. Clayton sees the papal resistance to this practice as the chief agency in obtaining some "standard of holiness and intelligence" among the English hierarchy—never very impressive for these qualities. No doubt this view has much to justify it; but Mr. Clayton offers too simple a picture of the situation. The primate's refusal of the King's overlordship was not a possible solution while it was combined with an unyielding claim to vast estates; and Anselm's original position had to be considerably modified in the compromise of 1107.

The materials of the book, including most of the edifying miracle anecdotes, are mainly from Eadmer's *Historia Novorum in Anglia*. There is no critical apparatus except a brief "Note on Authorities."

John T. McNeill.

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THE LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICAN HISTORY

By ABDEL ROSS WENTZ. Second Edition, Revised. Philadelphia: The United Lutheran Publication House, 1933. 465 pages. \$2.00.

This manual, which for ten years has been the standard single-volume work of reference on the Lutheran Church in America in its historical setting, now comes forth in a second edition, revised. The new edition does not, however, present a revision in content, but rather in additions of material. The largest addition has been of material of a pedagogical character appended to each chapter, together with a "General Bibliographical Note" preceding Chapter One. The work is brought up to date by the further addition of some thirty-five pages of text carrying the narrative from 1922 to the present.

As stated (page 4), "The main purpose of the book is to enable the reader to see the relation of our Church's history to the history of society in general and so to interpret the main direction of events, particularly in the present day." By offering a brief interpretation of the history of the United States in general; a concise, but accurate interpretation of the history of organized Christianity in the United States; and an adequate interpretation of the Lutheran Church in American history, the author has realized this purpose in a very satisfactory fashion. However, because of certain practical considerations, he states a second purpose: "We have equipped the second edition with some teaching helps" (page 4). This second purpose doubtlessly will serve certain commendable ends in more elementary circles, and will not be without its value for advanced students. The devices employed have given the author an opportunity to suggest to the advanced student the enormous possibilities of a subject which he himself, limited as he is in one volume, can only briefly survey.

The work is, on the whole, excellent, attractively made-up, well-written, and objective in view-point. The idea that "Church History parallels General History" (page 21), which Dr. Wentz has so effectively exploited in a number of his productions, is clearly illustrated here. Criticism may be made of certain of the conclusions reached, especially concerning the work and place of certain personalities and the estimates of certain movements, but none can be fairly made of the author's intention to be fair and just, nor of his wide and deep understanding of a very complex subject, in all of whose details and ramifications no one man can speak with final authority. The book is grounded in a philosophy of history which is inclined to the theological, e. g. pages 65, 67, 178.

Regret may be expressed that a list of stronger works on general American history was not compiled for inclusion in the bibliographies after the several chapters. One notes the absence of the six great volumes of Channing, whose place Elson's book hardly fills, and a real gap is left when only two volumes (Fish and Nevins) of *A History of American Life* are included when, in all, seven volumes were available before this edition was prepared. For a single-volume reference, West (1913) hardly suggests to the elementary reader the best now available. A point of incorrect

practice in form is the failure to follow the common method of indicating periodical articles as to distinguish them clearly from full books.

Robert Fortenbaugh.

Gettysburg College.

ATHEISM IN THE ENGLISH RENAISSANCE

By GEORGE T. BUCKLEY. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932. xi, 163 pages, \$2.50.

Mr. Buckley obviously is widely read in the general literature of England of the sixteenth century and at home in the intellectual and religious movements of the time. In the literature he has searched industriously for indications of atheistic opinion. He candidly admits that of direct evidence there is little, because it was dangerous to express unorthodox sentiments. Recourse must be had to the indirect evidence of "the reaction." On the basis of the writings of clerical and lay opponents of atheism, Mr. Buckley concludes that there was a good deal of it, and that its sources are definitely traceable. One of them was the teaching of the Paduan philosophical school, especially of Pomponazzi, who denied immortality and challenged Christian teaching generally. This influence reached England largely through French writers, sympathetic and hostile, Mr. Buckley thinks. Another source was Machiavelli, of the reading of whom in England proof is found as early as 1528, and who was increasingly read there during the century. A third source is held to be the sects. Religious differences in themselves are decried in the literature as productive of unbelief. The few Anabaptists in England were to some extent regarded as atheists, and this was more true of the rather numerous adherents of a branch of the Anabaptist movement, the Family of Love.

Mr. Buckley's study is very careful. His positive statements are substantiated, and he distinguishes frankly between assertion of fact and argument of probability. His account of anti-Christian or unorthodox religious thought in sixteenth century England is as complete as the evidence allows, and enlightening. After all the evidence has been amassed, the reader is left with a doubt as to the amount of the "atheism," and with an impression that Mr. Buckley, in spite of his knowledge of the background, has got his special object somewhat too near his eye. With respect to contemporary statements about the existence of atheism there must be remembered, what he himself says, that the term "atheist" then "included the modern meaning, denial of the existence of God, but a number of other meanings as well, deism, agnosticism, Arianism, and sometimes as it would seem, any extreme or radical religious belief." Furthermore, clerical and other upholders of received beliefs are always prone in controversy to exaggerate the amount of what they are opposing. Mr. Buckley's argument that Anabaptists and Familists were regarded as atheists because of their political views, which he admits to be "far from conclusive," could be more strongly characterized.

The book concludes with chapters on Marlowe and Raleigh. Con-

cerning Marlowe Mr. Buckley shows the scantiness of the evidence, in spite of recent studies by Hotson and others, and he will say only that in the loose contemporary meaning "Marlowe was undoubtedly an atheist." Raleigh was charged on his trial with atheism, but nothing to support this is found. The extensive bibliography calls for mention.

Robert Hastings Nichols.

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THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN CONTEMPORARY EUROPE, 1919-1931

PAPERS OF THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, Vol. II.
New York: P. J. Kenedy and Sons, 1932. xiv, 254 pages.

The nine papers which make up this book were read at the meeting of the Catholic Historical Association in Minneapolis, December 28th-30th, 1932. They all deal with the same general topic and are intended to describe the condition of the Catholic Church in Belgium, England, France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Poland, Russia, and Spain. The essays, it is needless to say, are of unequal merit. Those dealing with Russia, Ireland and France are excellent summaries of contemporary conditions based, apparently, on intimate first hand information and personal observation. Some, as for instance those on England and Spain, are obviously the work of outsiders. Professor Daniel Sargent, describing the growth of the Church in England, seems to be utterly oblivious of the fact that there has been a large Catholic immigration into England. No more pertinent proof of the rapidity with which the conditions affecting religion change from day to day in Europe can be offered than that shown by the statement made by Professor Hayes in the General Introduction to the volume. Speaking of Germany he says: "In Germany, though the number of Catholics has been lessened by the cession of territory, the growth of their influence has been clearly demonstrated by the final removal of all Catholic disabilities and by the decisive role of the Center Party during the last fourteen years." It is a far cry from Bruening to Hitler.

Patrick J. Healy.

Catholic University of America.

DIE GESCHICHTE DES CHRISTENTUMS VOL. I, 1: DAS ALTERTUM

By JOH. VON WALTER. Gütersloh: 1932. 238 pages. R. M. 7:50.

Professor von Walter plans to write a history of Christianity from the beginnings until the present day. In this volume, he offers its first part, which deals with the ancient church.

Opinion on the work must be postponed until its completion. But it can now be said that this history is not a striking new contribution to church historical scholarship. It is most probably not intended to be such. In fluent, easy style which combines generalizations, which one would like to see substantiated, with sufficient detail to render the story lively, the author gives a picture of the ancient church—of a kind which the student is apt to receive, when he takes survey courses in church history.

W. Pauck.

THE WORLD OF JESUS

By HENRY KENDALL BOOTH. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933. xii, 242 pages. \$2.00.

This book attempts to depict the background of Jesus in such a manner as will make its information available and interesting to beginners in New Testament study. It must be noted at the very start that the volume inadequately and often erroneously does what it attempts to do. The author is not competently informed, and his attempts to state his materials on an elementary level lead him not infrequently to misrepresent factors in the environment of early Christianity. Worst of all, he casts his work in an obviously journalistic style, presumably in the mistaken idea that to do so makes the book interesting. It is possible that the book may become popular, but it is regrettable that what influence it will have will be misleading. For example, not only are there numerous misstatements of fact in the characterization of Judaism, but the author is patently controlled by a low opinion of the Jewish religious leaders of Jesus' day. A highly idealistic, not to say romantic picture of Jesus is drawn, in which, again, there is a gross mixture of incorrect statements of fact and normative evaluations of what Jesus did and taught. The gospels are used harmonistically to suit the purposes of the author's imagination. In fine, the book has no scientific value.

Donald W. Riddle.

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MISSIONARY AND PHILANTHROPIC INTEREST AMONG THE MENNONITES OF NORTH AMERICA

By EDMUND GEORGE KAUFMAN. Berne, Indiana: The Mennonite Book Concern, 1931. 416 pages, \$2.50.

This book by Dr. Kaufman, President of Bethel College, is the first attempt at a complete history of the mission interest among the Mennonites. Although one of the oldest of the Protestant denominations, the

Mennonites nevertheless were late in developing an interest in the cause of missions. The first missionaries were sent to the foreign field in the early nineties of the past century. But once interested, they soon made up for their late start. To-day Mennonites perhaps spend more per capita on missions than any other Protestant denomination.

Dr. Kaufman, being a sociologist, views the whole subject from the sociological angle, stressing especially the effect the mission movement had on the home church. He shows that the whole life and practise of the church was transformed by the endeavor to conform to the needs of the foreign field. To train missionaries was one of the main reasons for the establishing of institutions of higher learning, and today most of the leaders in the cause of education are also prominent officials on the mission boards of all branches of the denomination. In no other field of church work has so much been done to promote the cause of Mennonite unity as in the field of foreign missions.

Salaries for the ministry, better academic preparation for ministers, the share of women in church work—all these and other modern church practises once tabooed among the Mennonites had their origin in the necessities of the foreign field. What seemed necessary for the missionary came to be regarded finally as good also for the home church.

Dr. Kaufman has done an excellent piece of work in writing this book, and it ought to be in the library of everyone at all interested in the development of the inner spiritual life of the Mennonite denomination.

C. Henry Smith.

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FIFTEENTH CENTURY BOOKS

By PIERCE BUTLER, compiler. Chicago: The Newberry Library, 1933. xxiv, 362 pages. \$5.00.

This work, a *Check List of Fifteenth Century Books in the Newberry Library and in Other Libraries of Chicago*, comprises 1795 different titles of incunabula found in the various libraries of Chicago and vicinity, of which 1613 are owned by the Newberry Library. The collection is a rich mine of source materials and incunabula not easily accessible in this country. To the student of mediaeval Christianity this work is of great value in enabling him to learn what this unique collection contains. The book is edited with the most scrupulous care, beautifully printed and artistically bound. It is not sold on the market, but a few copies may be purchased from The Newberry Library.

Matthew Spinka.